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# East Europe Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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13 AUGUST 1986

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ECONOMY

ALBANIA

DRAFT DIRECTIVES ON EIGHTH 5-YEAR PLAN

AU051429 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Jul 86

["On the Draft-Directives of the 9th Congress of the AWP on the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) of the Development of the Economy and Culture in the PSR of Albania"--ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, 4 July (ATA)--The press publishes today the draft-directives of the 9th Congress of the AWP on the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) of the development of economy and culture in the PSR of Albania. In regard to the fulfillment of the Seventh 5-Year Plan of the country's economic and cultural development, the draft-directives, which were approved by the 15th plenum of the CC of the party, stress among others:

The Seventh 5-Year Plan (1981-1985) will go down in the history of the country's economic and social development as the first plan which was realized by relying completely on our own forces, without taking any credit or aid from foreign countries. It enabled our country to take steps forward towards its general progress on the road of socialism.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, as compared with the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the social product increased over 18 percent, the national incomes over 16 percent, the capital investments 14 percent, and the consumption fund nearly 15 percent.

During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, for the five years taken together, as against the Sixth 5-Year Plan, the extraction of natural and associated gas went up by about 38 percent, coal by 48 percent, copper ore by 37 percent, iron-nickel mineral by two fold. Likewise, there was 46 percent more electric power generated, there were 44 percent more rolled steels produced, 25 percent more blister copper and nearly two times more copper wires and cables than in the Sixth 5-Year Plan, etc.

Our socialist agriculture recorded new achievements on its course of intensification, undergoing development in all its branches. Despite the unfavourable weather conditions over the past year, being a complex agriculture with a powerful material-technical base, it recorded a 13 percent increase in the agricultural production.

The investments made during the Seventh 5-Year Plan strengthened even more the material-technical base and will open up new prospects in the future. Over this period there were about 300 important projects built and commissioned.

In regard to the plan of the economic and social development of the country during the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1986-1990), the draft-directives point out among other things:

Basing itself on the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policy of our party, the immortal teachings and work of our beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha as well as on the aspirations of our working masses to march resolutely ahead on the road of the socialist construction of the country, the Central Committee of the party sets the following fundamental task to the Eighth 5-Year Plan:

"Our socialist order should be strengthened and perfected in an all-round way and the material and cultural level of the people should be gradually raised, by relying completely on our own forces. This will be achieved through the development of the multi-branched industry and the intensification of the complex agriculture, through the constant deepening of the technical-scientific revolution and the growth of the effectiveness of the social production, through the ceaseless perfection of the economic and social relations in a Marxist-Leninist way, through the further promotion of the ideological and cultural revolution and the constant strengthening of the defence of the homeland."

In accordance with the main objectives, the most general indices of the development of the economy and culture of the Eighth 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) will be as follows:

	Rise in Percentage in 1990 as Against 1985	
- The overall social production.....	30	-32
- The national incomes.....	34	-36
- The overall financial incomes.....	37	-39
- Export.....	43	-45
- Social labour productivity.....	8	-10
- The fundamental investments (in the Eighth 5-Year Plan as against the Seventh 5-Year Plan for the five years taken together).....	10	-12
- The real incomes per capita of the population....	7	-9

During the Eighth 5-Year Plan the development of industry will be made at faster rates, first of all through the utilization of the existing productive capacities, their extension, reconstruction and modernization as well as through the construction of new projects. This development will be based on the energy resources and raw materials of the country and on their more complete and complex utilization. In 1990, as compared with 1985, the volume of the overall industrial production will rise 29-31 percent.



Priority will be given to the development of energetics in order to precede and back up the entire socio-economic development of the country and to consolidate the active balance-sheet of our energy resources. In 1990, as compared with 1985, the oil extraction will be raised 33-35 percent, whereas the gas extraction will rise by about 2.5 [as received] times.

Coal extraction will be raised by 42-44 percent. The output of electric power in 1990, as against 1985, will go up by 71-73 percent, and this increase will be mostly provided by the hydropower stations.

In 1990, as against 1985, the extraction of chrome ore will be increased by 33-35 percent, copper ore by 39-41 percent and iron-nickel by 27-29 percent. The extraction of other minerals such as phosphate, quartz, olivinite, rock salt, dolomite, magnesium, marble, bauxite, etc. will also be increased in accordance with the needs of the economy and the demands of export.

The level of the processing of the minerals in the ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy will be further raised in order to get other useful components from them. In 1990, as compared with 1985, the production of rolled steels will go up 30-32 percent, blister copper 34 percent, etc.

The output of chemical industry in 1990, as against 1985, will be 46-48 percent higher. The enhancement of the production capacities will help to meet better the needs of agriculture for chemical fertilizers and pesticide. The production of calcined soda, caustic soda, PVC, sulphuric acid, detergents, etc. will also increase.

The role of the engineering industry as a powerful support for the technical-scientific progress, will be raised to a higher qualitative level.

The industry of building materials will be developed in accordance with the needs of the economy of the people.

Over the Eighth 5-Year Plan the production of mass consumer goods will under a further development so as to meet even better the growing needs of the people. [sentence as received]

In 1990, as against 1985, the output of light industry will go up 31-33 percent over the same period, the production of foodstuff industry will increase by 27-29 percent.

In regard to the development of agriculture the draft-directives stress among others:

The role of agriculture in the independent development of the country will be further enhanced. In this way agriculture will meet even better the increasing needs of the people, industry and export. The average annual agricultural output during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, as compared with the Seventh 5-Year Plan, will increase 34-36 percent.



The main task in agriculture will be the growth of the production of grains and livestock products at faster rates. The annual average production of grains will rise 20-22 percent.

In 1990, as against 1985, in livestock, the production of milk will increase 77-79 percent, meat 52-54 percent, eggs 54-56 percent, and wool 57-59 percent.

The irrigation capacity will be enhanced by 60 thousand hectares and measures will be adopted for the preservation of the existing capacities.

In regard to investments and constructions the draft-directives point out among others:

Over the Eighth 5-Year Plan 24 billion 250 million loks will be invested for the socio-economic development of the country. The investments and the main constructions will be made, first of all, for the development of the branches of material production. Forty one-fifty two percent and 31-32 percent of the overall volume of investments will be used for the development of industry and agriculture respectively.

In regard to the foreign trade it is stressed that during the Eighth 5-Year Plan, as against the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the volume of the goods turnover of foreign trade will increase 33-35 percent, of which the export 43-45 percent.

The material and cultural level of the working masses of the town and countryside will be guaranteed and further raised by relying on the possibilities to be created by the development of the economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. In 1990 the real incomes per capita will be 7-9 percent higher than in 1985.

In 1990, as against 1985, the turnover of the retail goods in the state trade and cooperativist one will be raised 23-25 percent.

During the Eighth 5-Year Plan measures will be taken for the improvement of the living conditions of the people. Eighty five thousand flats and dwelling houses will be built to this end.

The efficiency of economy will be enhanced in all the sectors and the financial resources will be increased by adopting all round measures to strengthen the austerity regime in the material production and other social activities.

In 1990, as against 1985, the labour productivity will be raised 8-10 percent, ensuring 43 percent of the increase of the social product.

In conclusion the draft-directives point out:

The Central Committee of the party expresses its conviction that the working masses, under the leadership of the party, with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the

lead, will crown this big popular action with success, in order to see to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania and the 45th anniversary of its founding with fresh achievements and successes and carry ahead with ceaseless impetus the cause of the revolution and socialist construction in Albania.

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CSO: 2020/181

ECONOMY

POLAND

PEPSI PRESIDENT INTERVIEWED ON COOPERATION PROBLEMS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 27, 5 Jul 86 p 12

[Interview with Donald Kendall, president of Pepsi-Co Inc., by Jacek Poprzeczko: "It's Difficult to Buy Anything from You" under the rubric "Up and Down Movements are Fine When Playing With a Yoyo, But They're Not Good for Business"]

[Text] [Question] Your company has considerable past experience in cooperating with the socialist countries, including Poland....

[Answer] ...Probably more than any other company.

[Question] What does that experience show? What particular factor promote cooperation, and what ones harm it most? I'm especially interested in the economic side of the problem, in the possibilities and scope of mutual adaptation of different economic systems. In itself this is extremely difficult, and the changing political climate additionally complicates the matter.

[Answer] Unfortunately, the influence of the economic factor on an overwhelming part of East-West economic relations is extremely strong. This doesn't concern Pepsi Cola in particular; we have not encountered any problems in operating on East European markets during times of political troubles. But many other companies claim that doing business under conditions of continuing vacillations and uncertainties is very difficult. During more favorable periods companies establish offices in Warsaw, which is very expensive, whereupon the bad stage in the cycle sets in and their offices have little or nothing to do. And so far we have been encountering an alternation of these better and worse stages, with continual up and down movement. That's fine when playing with a yoyo, but it's not good for business.

[Question] Let's then discuss better times, those times when the appearance of Pepsi Cola and of the competitor's product, Coca Cola, was a sensation on the Polish market. Could you please briefly recapitulate the history of contacts between your company and Poland as well as other East European countries?

[Answer] Our contacts with these countries began in the 1960's, or even in the 1950's. The first time I came to the Soviet Union was in 1959, when I had

traveled there together with Richard Nixon, then Vice President. It was then that I began to work on introducing Pepsi Cola on the Soviet market. Contacts with Poland date from the 1960's; at the beginning of the 1970's we commenced operations on your market. We have been continuing them successfully ever since, despite all the political troubles between Poland and the West, especially the United States. The most serious problem that we encounter, not only in your country but in every other East European country, is obtaining hard currency or products that could be sold for it. We try various approaches. So far as Poland is concerned, we have just about tried everything within our power to find something to buy. For example, we put into operation the manufacture of chairs for our pizzerias in the United States. We mediated sales of Polish goods to other countries, including Great Britain and the Near East. We maintain a special department handling exclusively operations intended to obtain in East European countries hard currency or goods that would be competitive on foreign markets.

I think that major changes must take place in your trade. It cannot continue to consist in the barter of fuels and raw materials for highly processed products and modern technologies. Influx of new technologies is of a certainty greatly needed by you, and I believe that it will be promoted by the formation of joint ventures; the number of East European countries creating suitable conditions for this is growing. But at the same time considerable effort is needed in order to use these technologies to manufacture an increasing number of modern industrial goods that would be salable on Western markets and with whose aid you would be able to purchase everything you need, including Pepsi Cola concentrate.

[Question] That was the strategy in the 1970's, especially during their first half which was the best period of East-West relations -- the strategy of acquiring up-to-date technologies and developing exports of high-class products. As you know, we weren't too successful. How do you assess the causes of our failure from the standpoint of an American entrepreneur?

[Answer] This is, among other things, a question of adapting to the requirements of Western markets, to the system of trade binding on them. Poland in the 1970's had expanded considerably trade and cooperation with the Western countries, and with the United States as well. You acquired large quantities of modern machinery and equipment. Some of these investments proved productive, and others not. Failures took place particularly whenever entire sets of facilities were acquired. For no attention was paid to maintaining proper relations with foreign partners. Continuity of contacts is highly important in business. Spare parts and suitable materials have to be imported and care has to be taken to continually update the product. This is a condition for successful exporting. All this requires efficient organization and management. Had you been as consistent in your economic reform as Hungary, I believe that you would not have been encountering any difficulties nowadays in adapting to the requirements of Western markets.

[Question] How is your company doing at present?

[Answer] Our annual volume of sales is about US\$9 billion. We sell our products in 155 countries, including every East European country except

Albania. We employ about 200,000 persons. In addition to beverages, we make potato chips, corn chips, and other kinds of snacks which people eat between meals or, if they like, with meals. We also maintain a network of restaurants-pizzerias — 4,000 in the United States, in addition to those in the FRG, Great Britain, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia, South America.

[Question] You're a vice chairman of the Council for New Initiatives in East-West Cooperation. So, I should like to ask you the same question that I had asked Professor Gwisziani: what kinds of initiatives are at present possible and necessary to revive this cooperation?

[Answer] We must build bridges of communication and understanding. Trade and economic cooperation are among such bridges. Other bridges are cultural exchange, tourism, cooperation in exploiting outer space and the riches of the sea, in environmental protection, and scientific cooperation as well. It's highly important for individuals from both sides, representing various domains, to regularly meet and engage in discussion. The more bridges of understandings arise, the better the prospects for the stabilization of political relations will become, which in its turn will provide the certainty that economic relations will be permanent, that those sudden upsurges and downsurges [in political climate] will cease. Once an appropriate climate arises, economic relations between East and West will improve markedly. They are natural relations, after all. It is their absence, or their low level, on the other hand, that would be highly unnatural.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/552



ECONOMY

POLAND

JOZWIAK DISCUSSES ROLE OF MINISTRY IN DOMESTIC TRADE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 May 86 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Jozwiak, minister of domestic trade and services, by Wojciech Rubicki: "In a New Style?"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Minister, in recent years there has been a great deal of discussion in our country about how things should be, what industrial and trading enterprises should be like, and how the cooperative movement should be situated within our economic model; people have argued about the role of the banks, the functions of money, etc., etc. Almost nothing has been said about the ministries, however. The role of the ministries is thus a sort of outcome or resultant vector of various institutional and individual decisions. Let us talk, then, about ministries "in general," but so that we are not separated from the realities of life, let us do this using the example of domestic trade and services. I am thus not asking whether there will be fashionable tights or when you will abolish coupons for meat, but whether the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services today is the general head office for a trade superconcern, or a government body supervising trade and services. Does the MHWIU (Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services) represent primarily trade before the highest authorities, or the central authorities before trade?

[Answer] If we are to keep to realities, then I would start as follows: the MHWIU's functions are formally derived from the 1972 law determining the scope of our tasks, obligations, and authority. Life in past years, especially since 1982, when the legal principles of the economic reform went into effect, has created new conditions, situations, and demands. The economic system has become different. Enterprises, the economy, and also the ministries dealing with it, including the MHWIU, have begun to function in these new conditions. These functions of the ministry that were specified in 1972 must therefore take the present realities into account. The ministry, more precisely the minister, is part of the government and functions within the framework of the government. This is clear. But at the same time, he has tasks related to the efficient functioning of the market, small-scale manufacturing, and services. During the last few years, the situation was such that efforts were concentrated primarily upon deliveries and the distribution of goods. The MHWIU's role in this consisted, among other things, of presenting suitable suggestions to the government during the drafting of economic plans. At the



same time, however, under the conditions of the economic reform, was compelled, or at least obligated, to create the conditions for the functioning of a market enterprise in this new situation. And this last function is now beginning to come to the fore. Here I would like to call your attention to the following question: how are market processes to be guided through economic parameters for market enterprises?

[Question] Really, how? The nature of the ministry's basic function depends a great deal upon the answer to that question...

[Answer] I will try to illustrate it with examples. Recently, for instance, we received approval from the Council of Ministers for the MHWIU's suggestion concerning, among other things, trade profit margins, rules for wages in trade and services, and rules for the creation of additional funds for the development of trade and small-scale manufacturing (the Fund for the Development of the Market, and the Fund for the Development of Small-Scale Manufacturing). At our suggestion, there was also an increase in resources for the fund for price reductions and trade risk. These solutions in the economic/financial sphere, cited as examples, will create more favorable conditions for the functioning of a market enterprise. They will demonstrate that the ministry is not the head office of a trade superconcern.

[Question] Could it be said, then, that the ministry "does not control trade"?

[Answer] I would not formulate it so categorically. It is rather assisting it, trying to guide its evolution, and outline directions...

[Question] But it is ceasing to be the "head," isn't it?

[Answer] Yes. Perhaps I will cite one more example that is a good illustration of the ministry's role under contemporary conditions. The economic situation of enterprises in rural trade — these are exclusively cooperative enterprises — was clearly worse than the situation of those operating in the cities, mainly because the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society has higher costs, especially transportation costs. Recently, therefore, at the suggestion of the MHWIU, which is after all not a "supermanagement" for the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society, some profit margins were raised in rural trade, which gives it a better financial situation.

[Question] That is good, but if there is no "head," then who watches out to make sure that trade is fulfilling its service role with respect to society, and not concerning itself only with its own interests and convenience?

[Answer] Also the ministry, only in a different way than formerly. But before I talk about that, there is one more illustration of the changes that are happening; we are "guiding" the delivery of some goods to the provinces.

[Question] Obviously these are goods that are in short supply. The term "guiding" is an official euphemism, but this is ordinary distribution, after all...

[Answer] That is correct. In 1983 there were about 120 of these centrally distributed goods, last year 93, and there are now only 57. Obviously distribution, which is still necessary when there are shortages, inhibits the initiative of trade enterprises, and is good for mediocre ones — whether one makes an effort or not, one still lives somehow. My efforts, therefore, are along the following lines — during the second half of the year, reducing the number of these distributed goods by at least 10. What do I want to achieve by this? Getting rid of some functions of the command-distribution system, freeing initiative, and limiting administration in trade. After all, these [olowkarze] of counting and distributing goods limit the independence of market enterprises.

[Question] Then you think that the better the country's economic situation, the more the ministry can move away from the role of the "head office of a superconcern"?

[Answer] Yes, obviously. The improvement in the situation allows us, and probably other economic ministries, to move away from direct management to indirect guidance. In the case of the MŚWiU this is particularly apparent, and there is a direct connection: simply, the more goods, the less direction and management. I am equally interested in the guidance of the market as a whole, as an influence upon the functioning of market enterprises. I must explain there that in the market enterprise I can see the characteristics of a trade enterprise and a production enterprise at the same time. Today trade enterprises are more and more often also engaged in the manufacture of consumer goods.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that the reduction in the ministry's activity only to the economic area could, however, not turn out in practice to be effective enough?

[Answer] After all, there is one more area: cooperation between the ministry, and the local, provincial, and district administration. The mutual alliance in this case should consist of the administration dealing in a comprehensive manner with the issues of the market in its region. Then there will be no room or necessity for direct interference by the ministry, even if economic levers are unsuccessful in some sector. This includes, for instance, the working hours of trade establishments, the density of the shop and service network and its adaptation to changing local needs, the organization of trade transport, etc.

[Question] This means that the ministry manages things through the local administration. In the case of the MŚWiU, for example, this means the deputy governors responsible for trade and services and their executive apparatus...

[Answer] Yes. In the opinion of our ministry, the determination of the overall extent, on a national scale, of the trade, service, and restaurant network and of employment in these areas is a balancing of the needs for individual groups of products, especially those of basic significance for society. For example, I am setting the goal of having about 400 square meters of trade premises in Poland per 1000 inhabitants in 1990. But I am not ordering the enterprises to accomplish this; instead, I am acting through an

increase in the profit margins in trade, the Fund for the Development of the Market, and the establishment in this country of standards for the so-called facilities accompanying housing construction. This standard should amount to about 350 square meters per 1000 inhabitants in new housing construction, and this is the minimum that the investor in the housing, e.g. a cooperative, must build. On the other hand, I, as a minister, must create economic conditions that will make it possible for market enterprises to purchase these premises or buildings for trade, service, or restaurant purposes, for example with a bank credit. In addition to this, we are gradually creating better and better conditions for market enterprises so that they can undertake their own investments, which should provide the 50 square meters needed for the full 400. These investments should be financed from their own funds, and thus, among other things, through increased profit margins, and where this is not enough, through bank credits. Furthermore, I will grant loans from the Fund for the Development of the Market, which is under my jurisdiction.

[Question] As a minister, how are you supervising the implementation of your policy under these new conditions?

[Answer] At annual intervals we make assessments and analyze activities. But we also take results into consideration.

[Question] Whose?

[Answer] In the ministry-local administration functional system, we take into account the governors, mayors, etc. Concurrently with the progress of the fulfillment of development tasks, we take into account individual trade units. With respect to the enterprises for which I, as the minister, am the parent authority, for example state trade enterprises, like the Centrum Department Stores, SHW, and Jubiler, I can apply appropriate methods of awarding bonuses. For example, I make bonuses dependent upon the progress achieved in expanding trade and service premises, but there can also be other criteria.

[Question] And in other trade units, for example in the cooperative movement?

[Answer] Competition is beginning to appear in the market, and this is giving rise to a natural concern on the part of the management of cooperative organizations about the development of their material-technical base, premises, warehouses, transport, etc.

[Question] According to what you have said, state trade is giving Spolem the department stores that were illegally taken away from the cooperative movement in the 1970's?

[Answer] The events in previous years and the current organizational changes in trade have led to part of the property of market organizations being in the wrong hands today. That is the case with the cooperative trade establishments that you have mentioned. It is also true, however, that the cooperative movement has part of the property of state enterprises in its hands. There are more than 100 such facilities, "on both sides." We are trying to correct this gradually. In my opinion, however, radical solutions are out of the question, because they would lead to a new mess. I am aiming at giving the

cooperatives what belongs to them, and the state what belongs to it, and in doing this, improving the state of trade and services, so that the market will really benefit from this correction.

[Question] Don't you think that if the ministry should not be the "head office of a superconcern," then the governors and mayors, not the minister, should be the parent authorities for state enterprises? There is a clear contradiction in the present system...

[Answer] In principle, I agree. On the other hand, in the present conditions, I do not want any reorganization in trade whatsoever. There have already been too many of them in past years. They did not bring either an increase in the amount of goods or an improvement in the organization of trade and services. Every reorganization causes a concentration of attention on property and personal matters. But I am concerned with having the people in trade and services give their attention to increasing the amount and quality of goods, improving the efficiency of trade, developing the base, etc. I repeat: in principle, I am not opposed to giving this authority as well to the governors, but for the reasons I have cited, in the present situation I cannot permit myself to do so. I do not want to revive the specter of reorganization. Let people work in peace.

9909

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POLITICS

POLAND

ADVISORY BODY REVIEWS REFORM PROGRESS, SHORTCOMINGS

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 22, 1 Jun 86 pp 1,6

[Report on status of economic reform issued by the Scientific Society for Organization and Management (TNOiK): "The Position of the TNOiK: A Crucial Problem is a Fundamental Strengthening of the Forces of Reform and Enhancing the Dynamics of Changes" under the rubric "On the Economic Reform"; passages within slantlines boldfaced in the original source]

[Text] The Scientific Society for Organization and Management, with its more than 30,000 individual and collective members, has during the last 5 years become deeply committed to reform activities. The position of the TNOiK on the economic reform, which we reprint below following a few minor abridgments, is in the nature of an overall assessment and focuses on the domains and measures in which the Society's voice should be considered. (The boldfacing of passages in the text is by the editors.)

1.

The economic and social consequences of the operating system of the economy, a system that is being restructured, arise to some extent owing to new solutions as well as owing to still functioning old solutions. Hence, their appraisal has to be approached with special caution.

The possibility of assessing the results of the application of discrete new solutions also is basically limited. Such solutions operate side by side with old solutions and their future effects may be totally different from the present. Any attempt at determining concrete economic results of the reform process should be made against the background of and in connection with diagnosis of the degree of advancement of the restructuring of the operating system of the economy. /What has then been accomplished? An assessment must consider, among other things:/

— development of the concept and basic assumptions and solutions for a new system of management;

— formulation of the above in the form of resolutions by the supreme political and state authorities (resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic);

-- drafting and voting of extensive legislation, including a basic package of legislative solutions in the form of decrees (the legal framework of the new system, incomplete as it still may be, has been defined);

-- introduction of a new division of powers and responsibilities (conversion to two-level system and formation of self-government bodies at enterprises) as well as introduction of many new principles of operation, planning, evaluation, and cadre policy;

-- conduct of a broadly conceived drive to popularize the reform solutions;

-- initiation of various pro-effectiveness measures in certain branches (e.g., in the footwear industry);

-- maintenance and further detailing of the vision of a new system for management of the economy.

/At the same time, it has to be stated that we are dealing with a situation in which:/

-- the new system has been only to a small degree extended to certain domains of the economy (e.g., construction and internal trade);

-- an effective "adaptation" of solutions to specific features of branches of the economy has taken place;

-- there has been no adaptation of basic and central-level structures commensurate with needs; this also applies to the absence of a corresponding adaptation of the internal structures, principles, methods, and techniques of operation of discrete elements of these levels;

-- sufficient cohesiveness between economic policy and the principles of the reform has not been achieved;

-- economically compulsory efficient management and the attendant innovative pro-effectiveness processes have not been effectively introduced;

-- we are not observing the expected and necessary marked revival of pro-effectiveness activities on a mass scale.

In a nutshell, oversimplifying somewhat, it may be said that much has already been accomplished in the reforming process so far as the conceptual and legislative stages are concerned. This has provided the starting point for the most difficult stages of the reform, the stages that comprise the planning and introduction of changes in internal management systems at the basic level (level of enterprises and enterprise associations) as well as at the central level (level of supreme and central bodies of state administration), and also the stage of the spread and eventual revision of the solutions applied. These stages may be considered tantamount to the actual restructuring of the operating system of the economy. During these stages, the changes already directly affect people. Some people always are bound to oppose these changes,



but this is a natural occurrence that manifests itself during any kind of transformation of a socioeconomic system.

The actual restructuring of the management system is carried out on the living organism of the economy, in the course of its functioning, and in such a way as to avert a catastrophe. This is thus a task incomparably more difficult than the restructuring of even the most intricate engineering systems or the transition through the conceptual and legislative stages of the reform. The accomplishment of this task is complicated by the fact that it must be implemented in every one of the thousands of basic-level organizations as well as of the numerous central-level institutions. In every such enterprise or institution a so-called small economic reform consonant with the provisions of the "Directions" and the universally mandatory legislation has to be carried out.

## 2.

An unusually essential and characteristic element of reform measures is the restructuring of the institutional system of the economy. The thesis can be advanced that the scope of changes in this field is a feature distinguishing the present economic reform from earlier attempts that had been chiefly focused on particular aspects of the economic-financial systems of enterprises and thus lacked the virtue of comprehensiveness.

Here it should be pointed out that /organizational structure in itself does not produce any material values, but it energizes — as an element of the integral operating system of the economy — forces capable of creating these values. For this very reason the logic of the integral operating system of the economy must be an important premise for selecting organizational solutions./ The essence of the institutional changes assumed in the "Directions" of the reform was the desire to shape a twin-level organizational structure within which central-level management guides the enterprises, considered to be basic elements of the economy, with the aid of economic instruments (parameters), which results in dispensing with the intermediate level, that is with a pillar of the command-economy system.

The implementation of this postulate of "Directions" required affording greater than hitherto institutional opportunities as regards "horizontal" cooperation among enterprises. To this end, the disbanded enterprise unions have been supplanted with such forms as enterprise associations, joint enterprises, and mixed enterprises. In addition, the possibilities for cooperation among enterprises on civil-law grounds have been markedly expanded. Worth noting as a particularly important exploitation of these possibilities is the recently established broad framework for horizontal flow of capital (loans, bonds, joint ventures) among enterprises on a contractual basis. These changes markedly expanded the scope of management problems that can be resolved through voluntary or guided cooperation among... enterprises.

The enrichment of the organizational forms of cooperation is accompanied by a marked transfer of specific decisionmaking powers as regards economic management. Previously, these powers were concentrated at the level of agencies of state administration. Now a large part of these powers has been

delegated to the enterprise level. Moreover, a totally new element of economic management has appeared, to wit, enterprise self-government, whose bodies play a major role in abovementioned decisionmaking. This has resulted in the /formation of a distinctive 'twin-body' procedure for accomplishing most administrative changes, which essentially reduces to mutual agreement on final decisions between units of concerned enterprises and the appropriate agencies of state administration. This implies automatically, as it were, the subordination of organizational solutions to not only macroeconomic verification (from the standpoint of social interest) but also microeconomic verification (from the standpoint of interests of the individual enterprise).

3.

Do the accepted formative principles of organizational structure of the economy indeed assure an adequate energizing of the two principal motive powers of the reformed economy — the central plan, which focuses on formulating promotional measures and strategic requirements vis a vis the enterprises, and the resourcefulness and initiative of individual workers and workforce of the enterprises?

Above all, the question of the extent of the application of the aforementioned assumptions to economic practice remains open. It cannot be overlooked, e.g., that some legislative solutions are not being enforced in practice despite their formal enacting. Nonetheless, against the background of the economic results achieved in the last 5 years, it can be assumed that a guided economy (in the sense of convergence in directions between enterprise plans and central plans), as well as in the sense of a more dynamic economy (undoubtedly markedly due to the greater activism of workforces and enterprise management) with a twin-level organizational structure is feasible despite the unusually unfavorable present domestic and external conditions. /This assessment is portentous to theory and practice, for it empirically corroborates the possibility, questioned by many, of a genuine departure from the assumptions of the so-called command-allocation system of management [i.e., from the command economy]./

4.

The transfers of powers to shape the organizational system of the economy have restricted to some extent arbitrariness, that well-known phenomenon of the past, so unusually harmful when it concerns organizational decisions. By the same token, conditions were created for a longrange policy of restructuring the organizational structure of the economy, a policy based on stable legal foundations and objectivized economic criteria.

5.

But while the basic direction of the organizational changes is to be evaluated positively, disturbing tendencies interfering with this process have to be noted. They consist chiefly in the resurgence of the middle or intermediate level of management through more or less argumented attempts at organizational concentration. In this connection, while until recently they used to be initiated by parent agencies striving to retain their supervisory powers over

plants and enterprises, now these tendencies are beginning to be displayed by the managements of certain basic-level organizations which view the formation of economic supraorganizations as an opportunity to create a pressure group capable of holding a strong negotiating position vis a vis the center when applying for relief, subsidies, credit, etc. Such tendencies lead to the founding of coalitions between parent agencies which strive to assure for themselves executive prerogatives and autonomous enterprises which cannot cope with the requirements of self-financing.

/This is a highly dangerous trend from the standpoint of effective management. It implies the rise of great economic organizations that cannot be effectively guided by the central level and are not amenable to pro-effectiveness measures. It will also complicate, and often simply prevent, the implementation of the needed restructuring of the national economy./

This necessitates a consistent adherence to the requirement that /all organizational changes must promote the growth of economic effectiveness and should be preceded by appropriate assessment studies of effects. To a much greater extent than hitherto, the policy of shaping organizational structures of the economy should be based on the provisions of the Decree on Improving the Performance of Declining Enterprises. A rigorous implementation of effectiveness requirements as well as improvements in the performance of enterprises by means of compulsory drafting and implementation of internal improvement programs should precede any intent to introduce organizational concentration or deconcentration.

## 6.

A major shortcoming of the organizational system of the economy is its lack of small and medium enterprises. Yet such enterprises are an absolutely indispensable element of the nation's economic infrastructure. They not only fill the "cracks" in the market, which remain unfilled by the large enterprises, but also effectively compete with large enterprises, even in the domains representing the main directions of action of the latter, by surpassing them in flexibility and innovativeness, and sometimes also in lower production cost. /Small enterprises are the element of the economic infrastructure without which many types of large-scale effects in the national economy as a whole cannot be accomplished./ The existence of a considerable number of small enterprises meets vital needs of large enterprises, which they serve as suppliers, executors of specialized auxiliary operations, etc. In view of this, small enterprises act in the capacity of, as it were, shock absorbers for economic difficulties vis a vis large enterprises — and consequently also vis a vis the entire economy — because, owing to their limited resources, they as a rule are the first to experience these difficulties.

There exists a variety of reasons why initiative in forming small enterprises has been lacking. On the one hand, this is due to resistance connected with faith in the absolute superiority of organizational concentration over dispersed forms of production, and to the resulting stereotyped attitudes and actions of the administration and the managerial aktiv, as well as to resistance connected with — paradoxical as it may sound — the often extremely



high efficiency of small enterprises and their ability to gain relatively higher economic advantages than do large enterprises. Obviously, the ease with which small enterprises gain such advantages should be of a transient nature and is possible only on a market that is in a disequilibrium and in the presence of insufficient efficiency of large enterprises as well as of a still continuing shortage of small enterprises.

On the other hand, mention must be made of institutional shortcomings, such as the burdensome regulations discouraging the formation of small enterprises, the shortage of funds at parent agencies for providing newly established enterprises with statutory funds (founding capital), the difficulties encountered in procuring production facilities, and the complicated accounting and bookkeeping procedures which are particularly onerous and costly for small enterprises.

/Local offices of state administration should become the principal elements promoting the development of small enterprises./ This of course requires preparing them properly for exercising this role so far as programs, competences, and resources are concerned. At the same time, programs for promoting small industry should be drafted in individual ministries with the object of facilitating the access of small enterprises to production facilities, providing them with tax relief, setting up special accounting and bookkeeping systems for them, providing sources of founding capital, and determining wage funds.

Voluntary associations of enterprises are a fundamental new form of cooperation among enterprises in the organizational system of our economy and, despite all reservations, they merit a positive evaluation. At present they represent a nearly universal organizational form of enterprises which integrates them with respect to a broad range of activities, although in principle it does not directly enter upon domains requiring deeper (venture capital) cooperation. These associations are gradually becoming the basic form of cooperation among enterprises, serving as a breeding ground for a growing number of new joint initiatives and projects by smaller groups of enterprises that, however, engage in such "deeper" cooperation that now also includes integration of capital.

This does not mean that the processes of the mutual association of enterprises evoke no reservations. A critical view must be taken of the fact that the associations formed after 1981 duplicated virtually without any major change the branch structure of the organizational system of the economy that had been evolved by their predecessors, the enterprise unions. For in more than one-half of the cases an association consists exclusively of enterprises that had previously belonged to its predecessor union, while in most of the remaining cases the differences in membership between the predecessor union and the association are minimal, reducing to one to three enterprises.

/An important direction of improving the enterprise associations formed in Poland in the 1980's should be, regardless of the "enrichment" and differentiation of their internal structure, the formation of "federative" planes of inter-associational cooperation having the legal form of cooperation agreements. Such agreements could markedly contribute to reducing interbranch

and intersubsector tensions that at present are being passed on to the central level, thus overburdening it with operational coordinating and interceding duties./

So far as obligatory associations are concerned, experience proves in principle the initial assumption that such organizations do not fit the economic reform and represent rather an emergency measure to surmount the economic crisis by serving to coordinate enterprise activities during the interim period. In this context, a critical view must be taken of tendencies to transform certain obligatory associations into multiplant enterprises, as has been the case with the former associations AGROMA [Agricultural Machinery Factories] and MEGAT. This direction of evolution is the polar opposite of the intended and desirable direction.

7.

A disturbing element, because it persists so long, is the inertia displayed by both enterprises and the economic administration as regards undertaking activities in the form of commercial joint stock companies (this concerns joint and mixed enterprises). The lack of interest by enterprises in these organizational forms demonstrates, on the one hand, the weakness of the economic-financial system and the currency, as well as the still existing opportunities for enterprises to obtain funds in ways that are less demanding than economic integration. On the other hand, this points to the absence of stabilization of the rules of the game, which is an elementary prerequisite for any initiative in setting up organizational forms that are "derivative" with respect to the state- or cooperative-owned enterprise.

8.

An important accomplishment of the reform is endowing enterprise bodies with the rights to autonomously determine enterprise organization. This is reflected, in particular, in the right of the general meeting of the workforce to vote on the enterprise statute, that basic organizational document of the enterprise. Such rights afford opportunities for streamlining the organization of an enterprise by its workforce and managerial aktiv. It must be stated that they are not yet being fully utilized. /There is no doubt that the past deprivation of the enterprise's powers to shape its own organization has resulted in that the importance attached to organizational streamlining is still small. This is besides a component element of the general crisis of efficiency of performance at our enterprises./ Overcoming this crisis should be linked to a stabilization of the institutional rules governing the operation of enterprises and, in particular, to tightening their economic-financial systems. Disturbing in this connection are the extremely frequent — often performed several times in the course of a year — revisions of financial regulations, as well as the growing extent of relief and subsidies granted to enterprises, coupled with their growing tax encumbrances on the other hand. Altogether this means growing uncertainty at enterprises as to the official backing of their activities. This prompts them to bargain for relief measures and preferences as well as to take other measures designed to produce an immediate effect (usually at the expense of longrange effects), instead of

streamlining their operations, which is difficult, laborious, and produces effects in the long run.

/In recent years the importance of organizational problems and labor norms at enterprises has disturbingly declined. This is accompanied by negative occurrences regarding organization of labor:/ considerable losses of work time at workstations (estimated at 17 percent, and at some construction enterprises at 25 percent), failure to verify labor quotas (which sometimes are exceeded by 300 percent), and a low degree of the norming of labor at workstations involved in direct production as well as in technical jobs and administrative positions.

A major problem of organizational streamlining is the present irrational structure of employment at enterprises, which is such that there is a growing number of administrative and engineering employees, often at the expense of workers directly engaged in production.

There is no doubt that /overstaffing with white-collar employees at enterprises is partially due to the transfer to enterprises of tasks that in principle belong to the state administration (distribution of supplies, bookkeeping with the object of determining the equalization tax, etc.). The state administration also is largely responsible for the rebirth of the paperwork plague at enterprises, which also adversely affects the employment structure./

The streamlining of employment at enterprises is not being helped by the rigid and obsolete provisions of the Labor Law Code. This poses acutely the dilemma of whether the right to work under socialism means the right of the employee to be employed in consonance with his aspirations as to working conditions and wage, or whether it means his right to be employed with allowance for both his aspirations and his actual suitability for his workplace. In this context, making the provisions of the Labor Law Code more flexible is an immeasurably difficult matter.

## 9.

It will be possible to state that the reform has been actually applied only after specific decisionmaking and implementing processes occur in consonance with new institutional solutions./ Thus the reform concerns directly millions of people participating in the regulational and real activities associated with the operation of the economy; it also concerns the entire society, whose living standards depend on the effectiveness of economic activity.

This implies a need to refashion social awareness from the scratch. The principal objective of such refashioning is to transform the growing human aspirations under socialism into potent motivations for socioeconomic progress. The gap existing between aspirations and motivations has caused the former to degenerate into claims and grievances that usually are addressed to the state. The elimination of this gap should be a cardinal objective of the reform. The first step in accomplishing this task should be /rejecting primitive egalitarianism as a criterion for the distribution of material boons. At the present stage of socioeconomic development this criterion should



be supplanted with the principle of "to each according to quantity and quality of his labor"./

Workers cannot be motivated to do good work so long as the right to work exists in the absence of the obligation to do good work, and so long as keeping one's job does not require special solicitude in performing one's duties. Such motivation cannot exist in the absence of a comprehensive operation of regulations governing remuneration, and their absence is causing an economic decline. These domains have yet to be reformed.

10.

The streamlining of employment policies for the economy as a whole is difficult to overestimate as a factor promoting the successful application of the reform. A major step in such streamlining has been endowing enterprise self-governments with the right to determine and oversee the employment policies of enterprises, as well as the introduction of competitive applications for the positions of enterprise directors. This process should be continued and expanded. /Promotion to managerial positions — other than key administrative positions — should not hinge on party membership, private arrangements, or cronyism, but should be open to all active and capable individuals distinguished by a high level of knowledge and professional qualifications, moral values, and loyalty to the socialist state and acceptance of its values./ Both within and outside the party there exists a considerable pool of trustworthy individuals who are ready to devote their knowledge and ability to think and act independently to cooperating with the state on the basis of their acceptance of the fundamental principles of the socialist system of society.

Managerial personnel is the principal element of the management system, decisive to the quality and hence also effectiveness of management. Executives and the provision of conditions for their efficient operations should receive definitely more attention than they have been receiving till now. Here there is a need for a consistent and creative implementation of the assumptions of cadre policy adopted by the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in October 1983, in order to bring about a situation in which the most suitable individuals will be placed in executive positions in the right place and at the right time everywhere. This means setting up a system of personnel policies that comprises the evaluation of managers, their advanced training and development, rotation, transfers, and the identification and preparation of candidates for managers. Such a system must be a living and flexible one, based on the assumption that the paramount functions of the manager consist in duty and responsibility rather than in obtaining perks, that managerial work is difficult and exhausting work that is often performed at the expense of considerable personal sacrifices. The system must be based on the assumption that the exercise of managerial duties is of a temporary nature, and is to be passed on to others once the efficiency of a given manager ceases to be sufficient for him to exercise his duties properly. Thus this concerns in practice a kind of a managerial relay-baton race in which the person who happens to hold the baton exerts himself to the utmost in order to, after a time, pass on his duties to his successor.

Constructing such a system requires solid and prolonged work. It should comprise various unrelated subsystems such as plant systems of work with managerial personnel, regional (gmina, city-borough, voivodship) systems, ministerial systems, and the central system. In addition to the need to construct the system of personnel policies there is an urgent need to improve the quality of managerial personnel even now. This concerns recognizing that managerial work, especially when it is resourceful and innovative, always harbors a considerable element of risk. This also concerns assuring suitable proportions in salaries between implementing employees and managers. Rapid and effective measures in this field will speed up the restructuring of the system of management of the economy, and they will signify introducing a highly essential factor in the struggle for effectiveness.

11.

In accordance with the adopted assumptions, the economic reform has from the outset been a project initiated and guided by the central political and state authorities.

In undertaking this project, the central authorities took on the burden of managing the economy on a current basis while at the same time restructuring the system of its management. This has been a veritable challenge, of a historic importance. Coping with this challenge has required adopting an appropriate manner of implementing the project and a suitable organization of the whole of activities.

It is debatable whether current management can at all be reconciled with a simultaneous implementation of institutional changes. For current management is based on such concepts as mutual agreement, integration and cohesiveness of action, coordination, order, and stabilization. Changes, on the other hand, mean conflicts, disintegration, compulsion, and greater uncertainty, and the sharper these changes are the more radical these conflicts, etc., become. Of a certainty, there does not exist any organizational solution that assures a collision-free concomitant performance of both kinds of activity. Thus, in practice it is necessary to assure an explicit and controlled predominance of the forces directly responsible for effectuating the changes, that is, of the reform forces, and to adapt organizational solutions to this requirement. Otherwise, changes are not possible.

/During the first stages of implementation of the economic reform the reform forces apparently appeared to hold a position of strength equal to that held by the forces responsible for current management./ This was due to the direct involvement of the political and state authorities in the reform. /After a while, however, once the conceptual stage was completed and the legislative stage largely concluded, issues of current management began increasingly to prevail and at present, at the beginning of the stage of actual restructuring of the management system, they have gained predominance./ Obviously, this predominance should not take place before the actual restructuring of the system reaches a level safeguarding the irreversibility of the changes. The premature relative weakening of the forces of reform appears to be the greatest methodological error of the reforming process and represents a genuine peril to the ultimate application of the reform.

In practice, this means that the initiative is being seized by individuals operating within those parts of the system of management which, in view of their principal responsibility for current management, could not as yet be properly reformed, and which should be the object of changes during the stage of actual restructuring of the system. It is readily seen that this concerns, among other things, many agencies of state, central, and local administration.

12.

In this fifth year of operation of the economic reform there is an absence of explicit and universally awaited manifestations of a substantial and durable improvement in effectiveness. It is certainly debatable whether commonly tangible progress could be accomplished given the existing economic and social conditions. But this fact in itself is a grave peril to the reform. It promotes the rise of opinions that the reform has not fulfilled the expectations and hence either old solutions should be reinstated or a new reform should be prepared and introduced. /In view of the foregoing evaluation of the implementation of the present reform, such opinions are unjustified. We have not yet been able to apply the reform defined in "Directions" to all the component elements of the economic organism, and hence any judgment that it has failed is still premature./ We have not yet accomplished the actual restructuring of the system of management, and we have not yet verified the new system in practice. The task is thus to consistently continue reform activities as well as to energize them. Social and political considerations also are in favor of this task.

/The decline in reform activism and the prolongation of the interim situation undermine the credibility of the authorities and promote the rise of negative opinions about their ability to accomplish the intended and accepted restructuring of the system of management of the economy./

A major problem is the fundamental strengthening of pro-reform forces and enhancing the dynamism of changes. Unless this problem is properly resolved as soon as possible, we may find ourselves in a situation in which the results attained so far at the expense of tremendous effort will be forfeited. /From the standpoint of the project of the reform as a whole, we have entered upon a stage requiring a multiplication of effort and an incomparably greater amount of energy and determination than in the preceding stages. A radical strengthening of reform activities must take place if we are to avoid the collapse of the reform following the first steps made in the field of a actual restructuring of the management system as extended to every element of the basic and central levels./

13.

Success in the actual restructuring of the system of management of the economy will hinge directly on the persistence of the political will to accomplish the changes consistently. Here, the course of the discussions prior to the 10th PZPR Congress as well as the resolutions to be adopted at that congress will be of decisive importance. In view of the special importance of the present stage of the reform process, the central political and state authorities should introduce more direct supervision and control of the implementation of

the reform process. This supervision should be maintained until changes solidly take place both at the enterprise level and throughout the system of the bodies of state administration.

/The starting point for strengthening reform activities should be strengthening the reforming capability of the supreme and central bodies of state administration./ This will be promoted by bringing order into mutual relations among these bodies, and subsequently by improving internal structures, operating principles and methods, and the employment structure.

Once the reforming capability of the entire system of supreme and central bodies of state administration is strengthened, economic policy will be formulated and implemented in accordance with new operational principles. Mechanisms of the reform will be more and more consistently incorporated in the pursuit of economic effectiveness at the basic level. Here there is a need for a balanced, cohesive, and unequivocal pressure to be exerted by the central level with the object of bringing about a situation in which resourcefulness and good management will be most profitable to the enterprise.

Warsaw, April 1986

1386

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ECONOMY

POLAND

#### INCOME-PERSONAL PROPERTY CORRELATION STUDY SUMMARIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 18, 4 May 86 p 7

[Article by Grazyna Smulska: "Secrets of Private Households"]

[Text] Many things that seem simple and obvious cease to be simple and obvious when considered more closely. Perhaps life is more interesting because of it, but that is the only good thing about it, and even this too is rather problematic.

Households especially abound in secrets. Properly speaking, it is not very well known what their standard of living depends on — at any rate, science cannot answer this question unequivocally. It might seem that that standard of living depends on one's work input, past and present, and the degree of its complexity, quality, and intensity. But it often turns out that no, this is not enough, this does not promote the cultivation of the values associated with labor but, on the contrary, simply threatens a collapse of the work ethic.

What is even more surprising, however, the standard of living also does not depend on the height of more or less work-derived income.

Such surprising conclusions ensue from, among other things, the findings of studies performed under the direction of Professor Leszek Zienkowski at the Department of Statistical-Economic Studies under the Main Office of Statistics and by Dr Jaroslaw Podgorski and Jan Rutkowski at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The former conducted an analysis of the relationship between household incomes and certain socio-occupational and demographic factors, and the latter compared the assets of households with their incomes.

#### Secrets of the Wallet

The secrets of the wallet essentially are secrets of the wage list, for the principal part of incomes of a majority of households are precisely incomes from work (that is, from positions held). Various negative occurrences in past and present wage practice have already been repeatedly described. Among other things, there is the fact that the better-educated and more qualified individuals generally earn less than those who are not keen to study. As reported by Prof Zienkowski, for example, the average remuneration of



employees with higher educational background is more than 15 percent below the average national wage (in 1980 it had been 12 percent higher), and about 25 percent below the average wage of industrial workers (in 1980 it had been 5 percent higher). The average salary of engineers in the so-called technical professions is nearly 20 percent below the average wage of so-called direct production workers in industry. In this connection, the importance and prestige of many professions are declining, and higher education and qualifications have ceased to be something particularly desirable.

Attention has also been drawn to the lack of an explicit differentiation of wages according to labor productivity. At the same time, no one can clearly account for the reason why wages are differentiated at all.

In the past too this question had not been clear. As ensues from earlier studies by Dr Podgorski, in 1974 education was the principal factor in wage differentiation. The branch of national economy and the subsector of industry were of nearly equal importance as the next determining factors, followed by sex, nature of work (at workstation, or nature of position held), and age. The least determining factor in wage level was the regional factor along with size and kind of locality. But all these factors together accounted — in the statistical sense — for less than one-half (!) of the differences in remuneration.

It may be assumed that consideration of occupation or profession and position held would markedly contribute to the findings. But the GUS [Main Office of Statistics] does not keep statistics on these factors. Besides, after all, occupation or profession and position held were partially taken into account in the statistics on branch of economy and subsector of industry as well as on educational background.

All the same, in 1974 we had known much more than we do now. In 1983 the same factors account for less than 30 percent (!) of the differences in wage levels, and the order of their importance has changed. The greatest influence on wage level, but smaller than in 1974, is produced by branch of economy and subsector of industry (because little has changed in this respect at present), followed by nature of work, age, and sex, taken together. But educational background now ranks fourth and its importance has drastically declined. As in 1974, region and size and kind of locality rank last.

The operation of the discrete factors can be roughly guessed. As in 1974, the level of emoluments is particularly high in the sphere of material production, being the highest in the coal industry, while emoluments in the nonmaterial sphere are low, with the lowest emoluments encountered in science, technology development, education and upbringing, culture and art, health protection, social welfare, physical culture, and recreation. Compared with construction industry, in 1983 the average annual remuneration in the coal industry was about 142,000 zloty higher, whereas in the abovementioned sectors of the nonmaterial sphere it was about 48,000 to 43,000 zloty less.

Nature of work and age were considered jointly in view of their similarity as factors, but on closer analysis age, which may be identified with work seniority, proved to be a somewhat less significant factor. This is because a

person's rise in earnings is rapid only till about age 40, whether he works in the material or the nonmaterial sphere, which is not very long. Once that age threshold is exceeded, wage increases slow down and at some moment, which for blue-collar workers begins after 50 and for white-collar ones after 60, earnings begin to decline. The differences in emoluments between blue- and white-collar workers of similar age are not large, but the former earn somewhat more before reaching the fatal age of 50 (just as in 1974).

Against the background of various formal and informal groups of pressure on wages, whose existence can be guessed, women's organizations present themselves rather weakly. When sex differences are considered, the annual emoluments of males in 1983 were about 33,000 zloty or 16.4 percent higher than of females.. In 1974 this difference amounted to 11,000 zloty but was greater in percentile terms (22.5 percent).

Relatively highest emoluments can be earned in the southern region, which J. Podgorski considers as including the Bielsko, Czestochowa, Katowice, and Opole voivodships, and in the northern region (Gdansk, Koszalin, Slupsk, and Szczecin voivodships), while the lowest earnings are recorded for the central-western region (Bydgoszcz, Kalisz, Konin, Leszno, Pila, Poznan, Torun, Wloclawek voivodships). (The 1974 figures are in this case not comparable in view of the altered boundaries of the voivodships.)

Plants sited in larger localities pay higher wages, but statistically the relationship is insignificant. Also insignificant from the statistical viewpoint but interesting is that, despite the growing number of dependents, the emoluments of the head of household (income from principal workplace) are declining. In 1974 the situation was converse; apparently at that time it paid to be occupationally more active at one's principal workplace, whereas now the situation is reversed. It pays more to moonlight. But that is only my assumption.

When operating with broader categories, such as income from work or overall income of households, the conclusions are in principle the same. The differences between households can be statistically explained to a somewhat greater extent, although new factors come into play. In the case of, e.g., income from work, comprising wages from one's principal workplace plus wages from moonlighting, for all members of the family, plus remuneration of students, the differences among households are principally determined by the number of persons [family members] working, which is fairly obvious. But these differences can be accounted for in only 46.6 percent of cases (compared with 64 percent in 1974). The differentiation in income from work per person can be accounted for in only 38.3 percent of cases (compared with 54 percent in 1974), and the principal determining factor is -- what is also obvious -- family size.

The differentiation in overall household incomes is accounted for by statistics in about 42 percent of cases -- and per household member, in 38.6 percent of cases (in 1974 this was not investigated by the author). The disproportions are smaller than in the case of work incomes, in view of the redistributive role of family allowances and welfare benefits, which in 1983 accounted on the average for nearly one-sixth or about 15.8 percent of overall

household incomes. Smaller disproportions exist in particular among households whose members are employed in the material or nonmaterial spheres, among households headed by males and females, and among single-person and multiple households.

### Money Is Not Everything

No less surprising are the differences in assets of households, although here various hypotheses are easier to make: in this connection, J. Rutkowski takes into account only certain elements of such assets as recorded by the GUS in its studies of family budgets. This concerns some 20-odd durable consumer goods ranging from black-and-white television sets to sailboats or motorboats, but not including clothing, furniture, jewelry, etc. In addition, the related statistics pertain to the quantity rather than class or value of the discrete goods. Thus, e.g., a Fiat and a Mercedes or an old washing machine and a new one, etc., receive equal treatment. Another shortcoming of that study, and one to which Prof Zienkowski draws attention, is that it overlooks the housing situation, and yet the importance of housing to broadly conceived standard of living is undeniable. But who knows, it may be that the consideration of a greater number of factors would entail a still greater number of unknowns.

The author divided the GUS-studied households into four groups of material assets owned. The first, and least well-to-do, owns at most five of the six following goods: a television set, a radio, a rotary washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, a refrigerator, and a bicycle. This group accounts for 28.9 percent of the households. Group 2, somewhat better off but still below average, includes households owning a somewhat broader range of goods but still lacking such items as: a television set, a radio, a record player, a tape recorder, a camera, an automatic washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, and a refrigerator. Such items are owned only by every third household (33 percent). Group 3, materially above average, lacks a passenger car among the goods it owns or, if a household in this group owns a car, it lacks more basic goods. Every fifth household belongs in this group (20.8 percent). The households in the most well-to-do group (17.3 percent) own at least a car plus the range of goods characteristic of group 1.

To each group of household assets the author ascribed a definite value of assets based on average 1983 prices. But this maneuver was intended not so much to appraise assets in terms of zloty as to determine a certain hierarchy of durable consumer goods. Thus this is a worthwhile operation.

A comparison of groups of household assets with the household groups isolated according to the criterion of income (quartiles) reveals that the correlation between both these factors is weak and not always existent. The households with the highest incomes are not the households owning the most valuable durable consumer goods, and vice versa. The income-wise poorest households are not poorest so far as their assets are concerned. Thus, according to J. Rutkowski, per capita income is not a sufficient criterion for estimating the material situation of a household. And yet, the entire social policy is based on this criterion. But if money is not decisive to assets owned, then what is?



Studies show that ownership of durable consumer goods is most strongly linked to socioeconomic group, followed by age of head of household, which may be identified with a stage in the cycle of family development. Relationship to height of income is weak, and in worker, peasant, and young families it is practically nonexistent. The households with the most assets are those of persons employed in nonmanual jobs; many as 36.5 percent of these belong in the top group of households with assets, and only 8.8 percent belong in the lowest group, with the majority, 62.2 percent, exceeding the average level. The situation of worker households is much worse: 18.8 percent belong in the lowest group of household assets; only 16.3 percent belong in the highest group, and the majority, nearly 60 percent, belongs in the below-average group. This also applies to worker-peasant households. The situation of peasant households is even less favorable: as many as 38.5 percent belong in the lowest group of household assets, and two-thirds belong in the below-average group. The worst situation, however, applies to pensioners and annuitants: nearly 60 percent of their households belongs in the lowest group; 84 percent belongs within the below-average group; and only every 20th such household belongs in the well-to-do groups.

Looking at it another way, the households with the least assets are chiefly those of pensioners and annuitants (one-half), although these account for only 25 percent of the households surveyed. In this case, a low level of household assets is often paralleled by an equally low level of incomes, although marked deviations do occur. By contrast, the households with the most assets are chiefly those of persons holding nonmanual jobs (44 percent), although their proportion in the sample surveyed is one-half as large (20.6 percent). With respect to other socio-economic groups the disproportions are not as explicit, but they become clear when incomes are compared with assets owned for each group. Worker, worker-peasant, and particularly peasant households generally own far fewer durable consumer goods than might be judged on the basis of their incomes, by contrast with the households of persons holding nonmanual jobs, whose assets are high in relation to their incomes.

The discrepancy between income and household assets at times becomes simply paradoxical. For example, every fourth family with lowest incomes among families of persons holding nonmanual jobs owns all the major durable consumer goods, inclusive of a passenger car, thus belonging in group 4 of household assets. By contrast, about one-third of the households of pensioners and annuitants, as well as of peasant households, is included in group 1 of household assets, that is, it lacks some of even the most basic durable consumer goods. For the other types of households such contrasts are less sharp, but still this is not a marginal phenomenon.

J. Rutkowski points to several reasons for the weak relationship between income and material assets owned. First, the price of many durable consumer goods is often such a high multiple of monthly income that the fact itself of owning these goods cannot, by the nature of things, have anything in common with income. They may be received as a gift from parents (newlyweds) or from rich relatives. They may be purchased with the aid of various nonreimbursable loans and donations, or from irregular income (e.g., earnings from working abroad). But they never can be purchased with the so-called bare wage alone, not even by thrifty savers.



Secondly, the absence of a relationship between income and material assets of a household ensues from the market imbalance and the operation of various allocating and rationing systems. Often, accessibility to sources of purchase and the time that can be spared for explorative shopping and standing in queues count more than cash.

Ownership of material assets is also a derivative of lifestyle. Worker and peasant households spend a greater part of their income on consumption than nonworker households, especially on food and alcohol. Moreover, peasant households finance various nonproduction investments. Lastly, the present situation is also affected by the income levels of the past, which in the 1960's and 1970's were much lower in, e.g., peasant households than in worker households. In their turn, the incomes of the latter declined in 1983 by nearly one-fourth compared with 1980, whereas in other types of households the decline was smaller (about 20 percent for pensioners and annuitants, 18 percent for workers [as published], 10 percent for peasants, and 5 percent for peasants-workers).

But, the author admits, this explanation is not completely satisfactory in every case.

#### The Poor and the Rich

The absence of an explicit relationship between the income of a household and its ownership of durable consumer goods results in that income alone cannot serve as a criterion of living standards, poverty, or wealth. But the matter is not simple, because on the other hand current income and ownership of assets are to a marked degree mutually independent measures of material situation. One may own a store of material goods accumulated in better times and at the same time be unable to meet a large part of basic current needs.

Studies reveal that every social group has its own — in the sense of most often encountered — living standards different from those of other groups. The most favorable situation is that of families of persons holding nonmanual jobs whose material assets and incomes both are the highest. Far below them and mutually close in level are the worker-peasant and worker households. Much lower even are situated the peasant families, followed by annuitants and pensioners at the very tail-end.

The spheres of poverty and wealth correspond to this arrangement, and when not determined on the basis of the income criterion alone they are narrower: the former by 6 percentage points and the latter by 18. The sphere of poverty, defined as the combination of lowest incomes (first quartile, income close to the social minimum) with below-average household assets (groups 1 and 2) comprises 18.6 percent of the households, while the sphere of wealth, limited to the households with highest incomes (fourth quartile) and best assets (group 4), includes only 7.1 percent.

Such a narrow range of the sphere of wealth provides even more food for thought than the range of the sphere of poverty.

Every third household of annuitants and pensioners and every fifth peasant family is poor. Nearly one-sixth of worker and worker-peasant families (15.4 and 14.9 percent, respectively) live in poverty, whereas only 6 out of every 100 families of persons holding nonmanual jobs live in poverty. The picture of wealth is reversed. Families of persons holding nonmanual jobs account for the highest proportion of those belonging in the wealthy group, 17 percent, whereas the proportions of other types of households belonging in this group are 5-7 percent. An exception is the households of pensioners and annuitants, of which barely 16 per 1,000 can be considered wealthy.

More young than middle-aged families live at the poverty level, but the difference is insignificant (17.3 versus 15.5 percent). Elderly families, of age 66 and higher, predominate (more than 36 percent) among poor families. More middle-aged than young families are wealthy, while few elderly families can be considered so (8 families per 1,000). The situation of childless families is relatively favorable (13 percent belong in the wealthy category). Large families (with three and more children) include 3.5 times as many poor families, and the proportion of wealthy families among them is less than one-fifth, compared with families with one child or two children. In general, 38 percent of large families live in poverty, as does every third single parent.

Ownership of material assets is a greater source of household differentiation than height of income, and perhaps this kind of differentiation is stronger in social awareness than differentiation by income, for generally it is easier to peek at another's apartment than at the contents of his wallet. A veritable gap is yawning between the best- and the worst-equipped households. The top 25 percent own 66.7 percent of the overall value of durable consumer goods owned by all households, while the bottom 25 percent of households own only 6.5 percent of that overall value. (The income gap is correspondingly 41.1 percent for the former versus 13.3 percent for the latter.)

As a consequence, the average level of ownership of durable consumer goods by households is low both in absolute figures and in relation to incomes. Nearly 30 percent of all households own assets below the level considered to be minimal, and the value of assets owned by one-half of the families is less than the value of a color television set. On the average, the value of a durable consumer goods item equals the 4-month income of a three-member family or the 3-month income of a four-member family. It is thus difficult to answer who then is really well-off and who poor.

Altogether, the question is whether statistics should be faulted for not investigating what is needed, as it includes too few of the factors essential to determining the living standards of households, or whether life itself should be faulted about for being so illogical.

1386

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ECONOMY

POLAND

SEJM COMMISSION EXAMINES PROGRESS ON BELCHATOW POWER PLANT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 May 86 p 5

[Article by (wycz): "The Belchatow Fuel-Energy Complex"]

[Text] It was not by chance that the Sejm Commission for Mining and Energy made the progress of the construction of the Belchatow fuel-energy complex the subject of its 21 May meeting, which was chaired by deputy Kazimierz Jagierski (PZPR). In view of the limited possibilities for increasing the output of hard coal, a fundamental increase in energy can be based — until nuclear power plants are put into operation — on lignite. Currently, electric power plants fueled with lignite are already providing over 30 percent of the total electricity produced in Poland, and Belchatow has taken the lead in this area in Poland.

Before the meeting, the deputies visited this great investment at the site. an assessment of this visit was presented by deputy Jozef Kowalski (PZPR). He expressed, among other things, concern about the delays in the progress of the construction of the mine at the Szczercze deposit, as well as the failure of the NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan] drafts to date to provide for outlays for the construction of the Belchatow II electric power plant (four 360 megawatt units). With the present outlays, coal cannot be obtained from the Szczercze deposit any earlier than 1990 (1995 was originally assumed). During the next 12 years, coal for the electric power plant would only be mined from the Belchatow outcrop. Meanwhile, in view of the unequal sulphur content of the two deposits, independently of the installation of suitable purification equipment at the electric power plant, the mixing of coal from both outcrops would permit a reduction in the sulphur released into the atmosphere.

The problem to be solved is how much the lignite supplies in this region will suffice for, and what the maximum life of the electric power plant will be. It turns out from what has been established to date that the coal supplies will be enough for 35 years, assuming that a total of 16 360 megawatt power units will be in operation there.

Additional remarks were made by deputies Kazimierz Janicki (PZPR) and Marian Sobniowski (PZPR). The latter referred to the activities of the commission

during the previous term of the Sejm, recalling that even then the deputies had shown great interest in the progress of the construction of Belchatow.

It appears from the explanations of Jerzy Gwiazdzinski, the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, that the version of the NPSG that has been drafted for the years 1986-1990 provides for suitable outlays for construction of the mine at the Szczercow deposit; there are not enough funds, however, for the completion of the second stage of the Belchatow electric power plant. First it is necessary to complete the Opole electric power plant, fueled with hard coal, since the equipment and assemblies are already waiting to be installed.

The problem of the utilization of waste heat was also brought up during the discussion. Division General Czeslaw Piotrowski, the Minister of Mining and Energy, responding to this question, stated that the offers made by the ministry in regard to supplying greenhouses with heat from the Belchatow electric power plant had not met with any response from the farmers. But this is after all an enormous and unutilized reserve.

Also brought up was the issue of using lignite for fuel for the population and small-scale industry. As it appears from the ministry's explanations, a sorting plant is being created at Belchatow that will allow obtaining 200,000 tons of this fuel each year in large assortments. The deputies also pointed out the paradox that the heating plant at Belchatow uses hard coal brought from Silesia.

Summing up this part of the meeting, deputy Kazimierz Jezierski emphasized the significance of lignite in the economy. In the next few years, this fuel will play an even greater role both in energy and in the area of supplying small-scale industry and individual customers. This, however, requires greater activity on the part of the industry manufacturing stoves and boilers.

In the second part of the meeting, the commission examined a report from the Ministry of Mining and Energy on overcoming occurrences of social pathology in the enterprises subordinate to the ministry.

9909

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ECONOMY

POLAND

#### ACADEMY OF SCIENCE EXAMINES ENERGY SITUATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 May 86 p 5

[Article by Witold Blachowski: "Energy Will Determine Development"]

[Text] Once again, problems related to energy, the state of which is determining and will determine the state of our economy and the country's development in the next few years and afterwards, have returned to the agenda of a meeting of the Presidium of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences].

On 20 May, at a meeting of the PAN Presidium, a discussion took place concerning the expert report "Energy As a Factor and Barrier in Economic Development," which was prepared by a group in the PAN Committee on Energy Problems, and presented by Prof Jacek Marecki. The problems dealt with in the expert report have to do with both energy resources and their exploitation, the extent of the modernness of manufacturing technology in many branches of the economy, methods for obtaining energy, and also the prospects for satisfying the country's needs for different sources of it.

Our energy resources are fundamentally rich with respect to solid fuels, but they are also expensive to exploit. The increasing depth in mining hard coal, up to 1000 meters and even farther down, is causing a sharp increase in costs, and making it necessary to solve many new problems, associated, for example, with high temperatures and the high tectonic pressure. The price fluctuations in world markets have an unfavorable influence upon our economy, which is based to an enormous extent upon coal. For example, in 1983 the prices of hard coal fell by about 20 percent in Western markets. At the same time, as a result of stagnation in the smelting of iron and steel, there is no indication that these prices will rise in the near future. The fact is likewise not without significance that the energy-intensiveness of our national income is about 140 percent higher than in the EEC countries, and about 70 percent higher than the average for the developed capitalist countries as a whole.

The reason for this state of affairs is, on one hand, the so-called coal structure of the fuels in use, inefficient technologies in industry, communal economy, transportation, construction, and agriculture, and, on the other hand, the very unfavorable structure of domestic final products, which are dominated by energy- and materials-intensive products with a low extent of manufacturing, and furthermore often of poor quality and a low degree of modernness. The possibilities for maneuvering are also hampered by Poland's very low consumption of crude oil and by insufficient investment in the gas

production system. Our energy balance is also very strained by the fact that the extent of the country's electrification is insufficient -- for example, only light has been brought to most rural farms, and on the other hand there is a lack of so-called power, i.e. the possibility of a 3-phase power supply for machinery and equipment.

Energy problems cannot be separated from environmental problems, broadly understood. The losses caused by sulphur compounds (among others, the increased corrosion of materials and equipment) are already estimated to be close to 400 billion zloty per year at present. The authors of the expert report call attention to a sort of vicious circle. On one hand, satisfaction of the growing need for energy is a condition for economic growth; on the other, as a result of the lack of the funds required to develop energy, including a lack of funds for importing fuel, this condition cannot be fulfilled. In this situation, the only thing that remains is a radical reduction in the energy-intensiveness of the entire national economy.

In the long and exhaustive discussion, many parts of which dealt not only with energy but also with the state of the entire national economy and the prospects foreseen for the next few years, attention was called, for example, to the need to strive for the unutilized possibilities that lie in this field in the processes of thermodynamics and combustion, and in systems for automating production processes. It was pointed out that considerable imbalances were occurring, for example in the method of calculating production and transportation costs for some fuels, including coal. In general, the present price system does not promote energy conservation, and conservation is not profitable. This is especially disturbing because the situation in energy is critical. At present the increase in the so-called load is 5 percent annually, while only 2 to 3 percent more energy is reaching us from new installations. The deficit is thus growing, and if that continues, it is estimated that in the year 2000 we will be about 2,000 megawatts short, which would mean a very difficult situation for the economy.

Many speakers called attention to the need for considerable additions to the report presented -- for example, in regard to the use of nonconventional energy sources or nuclear energy. The issue of the absolute need for better use of energy raw materials, including among other things the problem of coal gasification, came up again. The enormous importance of the problems raised was acknowledged, and it was proposed that a brief summary be prepared for the country's decision-making elements. At the same time, the group of experts is to prepare a full expert report, taking into account the suggestions and proposals presented during the discussion. It is worth emphasizing that energy problems were recognized by many scientists as unusually important in the program currently under discussion prior to the 10th PZPR Congress. The date of the congress, which is already close, requires a certain pace of work on drawing up concrete proposals in this area. Perhaps then one can hope that the problems of energy -- a basic and strategic area -- will be properly treated in the national discussion of the socioeconomic plan for the country's development.

ECONOMY

YUGOSLAVIA

PAPER REPORTS ON SOCIAL PLAN FOR ENERGY FACILITIES

Production, Consumption Plans to 1990

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 86 p 4

[Text] Yugoslavia's Social Plan for the 1986-1990 period, in regard to the construction of electrical energy facilities, gives priority to those whose production is based on the use of lignite in the Kosovo basin and in other large coal basins and electric power plants in the Drina, Sava, Drava, and Mura river basins. In accordance with those determinations, the basic tasks of the electrical industry are to ensure that the development of the electrical industry is coordinated with the requirements for the development of the overall economy and society, to provide a stable and high-quality supply of electricity to consumers at the lowest possible cost, to build production installations with domestic resources, to develop mines to satisfy the needs of existing thermoelectric power plants and new ones, and in general, to build the installations that are most economically efficient.

These are the starting points for achieving optimum results in the development of the electrical industry during the current medium-term planning period.

Reality Somewhat Different

Reality is different, because there are delays on several tracks, and there is no synchronization of activities. It has thus been noted, for example, that the draft joint plan for the organizations in the Community of the Yugoslav Electrical Industry has not been prepared completely in accordance with the law on planning and the Yugoslav social plan for the current medium-term period. The Federal Executive Council, for its part, is not authorized by the Constitution to examine this plan for the Community, and the decisions on the construction of most of the electricity production installations have been made by the electrical industry organizations of the republics and provinces much earlier than work was begun on drawing up the joint plan for the organizations united in the Community of the Electrical Industry. Several of these installations are already being built, so that objectively, it will not be possible during this 5-year period to ensure the construction of the most efficient production facilities in Yugoslavia.

In spite of the determinations adopted in the Yugoslav social plan for this medium-term period, there is no joint construction of even a single facility with the "base" potentials, Kosovo lignite, or the waters of the Drina. On

this occasion as well, the synchronized and most efficient development of the electrical industry has been sidetracked. The passivity and lack of interest on the part of the republic and provincial electrical industries in the joint and most economical construction of expensive, and increasingly more expensive, production facilities suggests the observation that this sort of behavior is jeopardizing the achievement of the necessary development of the electrical industry, funded through the long-term energy development strategy and the Yugoslav social plans for the 1986-1990 period.

#### Illuminated Facts

In contrast to this type of behavior, the demand projections require very dynamic construction, and observance of the deadlines for the construction, in order to avoid experiencing the collapses of previous years. Electricity consumption during the current 5-year period is being planned at an average annual rate of 5.1 percent. On the other hand, the average growth of production ought to amount to 5.5 percent, so that total electricity production should grow from 72,905 GWh in 1985 to 95,275 GWh in 1990.

According to the Community's projections, which are being disputed from a formal/legal point of view, the most dynamic development of production should occur in thermoelectric power plants. Overall, it is necessary to build installations with a capacity of 3,658 MW--thermoelectric power plants 2,396 and hydroelectric power plants 1,262. Installations for 820 MW should be built in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 256 in Montenegro, 341 in Croatia, 210 in Macedonia, 1,024 in Serbia proper, and 480 in Vojvodina.

We are thus not far from determining that there will be no synchronization between the plans for the construction of energy facilities and the facilities constructed during this 5-year period either. Accordingly, if we want to intensify economic development and particularly industrial production, the main stumbling block, as before, will be electricity. The costs of a reduction in electricity--and they occurred last year--are high, and this fact by itself should have a stimulating effect on the behavior of all the factors who can directly or indirectly influence the achievement of the necessary development of the electrical industry during this 5-year period. Otherwise, it may happen that the present game of hide-and-seek may really be played in the dark, and the consequences would be more than serious.

#### Investment Plans to End of Century

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jun 86 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Funds As a Main Switch for Programs"]

[Text] During the 1976-1980 period, 4,691 MW of new facilities were built in Yugoslavia. In that way 60 percent of the plan was fulfilled. During the past 5-year period, the results were somewhat more favorable. There were 5,244 MW of new facilities built, and in that way 71 percent of the plan was fulfilled.

This volume of investments made it possible for Yugoslavia, in the electrical industry sector, to have 19,725 MW in 1985, compared to 14,959 MW in 1980.



The share of hydroelectric power plants grew from 6,110 MW to 7,702, and the share of thermoelectric power plants from 7,959 MW to 12,024 MW. In this way, hydroelectric power plants have a 39 percent share in the total facilities built, and thermoelectric power plants a 61 percent share. Among the latter, those operating on coal represent 44 percent, liquid fuel and gas 10 percent, nuclear power plants 3.4 percent, and industrial power plants 3.6 percent.

The current planning period should ensure over 3,600 MW of new facilities, which would ensure an annual production of about 98 billion kWh of electricity each year. In order to achieve this kind of annual production, it will be necessary to ensure the production of 92 million tons of coal, 4.5 million tons of oil, and 4.5 billion cubic meters of gas.

#### The Basis--The Classic Raw Materials

The projections for development until 2000 are counting on about 20,000 MW of new facilities, and the beginning of the construction of power plants with a capacity of 4,000 MW, which would be put into operation during the first few years of the 21st century. The fulfillment of this investment policy should ensure the production of 160 billion kWh annually.

The ambitious investment plans are based on the classic "raw materials," coal and water, since more intensive construction of power plants based on new technologies, such as nuclear energy, can only be counted on beginning in the next century. In fact, the existing coal reserves in Kosovo, in the northern part of the basin, make it possible to build another 2,100 MW, and another 300 at the location of Kosovo B. The hydroelectric potential of the Drina makes it possible to produce about 14 billion kWh each year. Now 3.6 billion are produced, i.e. only 26 percent of this potential is being utilized. Another 1.1 billion kWh will be gained from installations under construction after 1990, and with the installations being continued, a total of 2 billion kWh, which means that about 7 billion kWh still remain unutilized.

In order to carry out these programs, it is necessary to ensure enormous funds, and sufficient consideration is not always given to the possibilities for carrying out investment programs with the funds provided. This is also true of the current medium-term period. In fact, the social plan for the development of Yugoslavia during the period 1986-1990 stipulated that investments in fixed assets in the economy should amount to 8,584 billion dinars. It is also specified that the share of investments in energy should be at least 15 percent of the total investments, or that 35 percent of the total investments in industry should be investments in energy.

If these percentages are expressed in money, the situation is as follows. Energy would have 1,552 billion dinars, and the total investments in production and transfer would require the amount of 2,324 billion dinars in 1985 prices; this means the construction of new facilities before 1990, reconstruction, and the construction of the coal mines required and the installations being continued, the planned value of which is 2,324 billion dinars.

One does not need a large computer to notice the gap between the funds needed and those planned during the current planning period. For this reason, it is necessary to take a more realistic look at the sources of the funds and to have more pooling of funds for the purpose of the joint construction of

installations, which is far more efficient than having the republic and provincial electrical industries shut themselves up within their own boundaries. The very fact that the plan is providing sources for only half of the necessary funds indicates the need to eliminate numerous weaknesses in the fulfillment of the policy for building energy facilities. These obstacles are not new, and have been carried over from previous periods; to a large extent they are a consequence of resistance to the achievement of a unified energy policy and the dominant influence of the republics and provinces upon the behavior of their own electrical industries. It is understandable that during this 5-year period as well there has been a discrepancy between the legal regulations and planning, and the behavior of the electrical industries of the republics and provinces, and this also affected the preparation of the joint development of the electrical industry, as obligations arising from the planning policy that was adopted.

In such a situation, and also because of the great difficulties and delays in reaching an agreement on the joint construction of electricity facilities on the basis of pooled funds, primarily in Kosovo and on the Drina, the republics and provinces have mostly aimed at building facilities "on their own territory," while not giving enough consideration to whether such construction would be economic and efficient.

#### And Joint Programs

These and other problems should be solved as soon as possible, because it takes a long time to build electrical plants. In practice, however, there has been a delay in the adoption of a joint plan for the Yugoslav electrical industry, which should have been done before the end of the first half of the year. It is also necessary to undertake actions to create the conditions for ensuring rapid growth of the energy industry during the next 5-year period, because calculations show that the necessary facilities, especially using domestic resources, will not be available in the area of the electrical industry. The basis for that development must be a unified policy that will be fulfilled through a joint plan for the electrical industry and joint programs for the development of coal, oil, and gas production. Deciding upon installations in the electrical industry and joint energy development programs will neither be an easy task nor a short one. Full attention should be devoted to the capital formation of the work organizations producing primary and secondary energy. It is necessary to have faster standardization of primary and secondary energy prices, and to meet the deadlines for establishing prices.

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CSG 100/278

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ILLYRIAN ORIGINS OF ALBANIANS UNDER DISCUSSION

Yugoslav Refutes Albanian Claims

AU242013 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Jun 86

[Text] The decision of high political circles in Tirana and of Enver Hoxha personally that the Albanians are undoubtedly purely and solely of Illyrian origin has been the subject of all the efforts of anthropologists, archaeologists, balkanologists, and historians of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. One of the witnesses to this scientific proof, Dr Aleksander Dhima, research assistant at the Center for Archaeological Research of the Albanian Academy of Sciences, was heard in recent days in Pristina, at the 25th Congress of Yugoslav Anthropologists held on 22 and 23 May. He repeated the well-known thesis of Tirana that the Albanians are the descendants of the indigenous population, not only of Albania, but of all the territory from Istria, down the Adriatic coast, and throughout the Balkans as far as Thrace.

At the Pristina meeting, Dr Dhima presented a short version of his voluminous work, "An Anthropological Profile of the Ancient Inhabitants of Albania." In discussion, he attempted not to annoy his audience too much, and not to provoke polemics and opposition. To convey his message to a wide Yugoslav audience, at this meeting he offered his lecture for publication in the Zagreb periodical COLLEGIUM ANTHROPOLOGICUM.

The editorial board sent Dr Dima's article for the consideration of the respected anatomist and anthropologist, Prof. Dr Srboljub Zivanovic, who has been teaching for some years at London University. As TANJUG's London correspondent reports, this distinguished Yugoslav anthropologist, also a fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, judged Dr Dhima's article to be a premeditated political provocation against Yugoslavia, and an attempt to deceive the lay reader behind the veil of a scientific study.

While not denying the existence of an indigenous language and population in Albania, Dr Zivanovic says that Dr Dhima must acknowledge the scientific view that, in a modern context, the Albanians are a mixture of Slavs, Greeks, and various Mediterranean peoples, with a small admixture of the indigenous inhabitants. Like others in Albania, Dr Dhima too proclaims the Albanians to be a pure race. Dr Zivanovic made clear that Dr Alexander Dhima relies in his approach upon the works of authors who, in their own eyes and in those of the

wider academic public, are proponents of racist theories advocating the existence of an Aryan master race. So Dr Aleksander Dhima ranks himself among advocates of those ideas against which World War II and the revolution were fought, in Albania as in other countries. In witness of his theory, the Tirana academic also mentions the Bulgarian anthropologist Petur Boev, among other things, denies in a supposedly scientific way the existence of the Macedonian people.

It is now clear that modern science in Albania, adapted to political aims and territorial pretensions, does not wish to distinguish the ethnic term "Illyrians" from the much wider geographical-administrative term "Illyrians." Using the implications of these political aspirations as a starting point, the science of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania puts itself in the service of the ambition to proclaim as Albanian everything subject to the administrative term "Illyrian," which includes everything up to the Sava River and even into Pannonia.

It is true that everybody has a right to think what he wants about himself. But it is a question of self-respect and academic honor that such science should not conceal racist assertions, or the subjection and persecution of other supposedly lower peoples, and should not evince pretensions to ancient territory which has supposedly been stolen by other peoples and taken over by other countries. The truth of the purpose and content of Dr Dhima's work has become slightly clearer after its journey from Tirana, via Pristina, to Zagreb and London.

#### Belgrade Seminar Arouses Albanian Ire

AU011121 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 22 Jun 86 pp 3-4, 14

[Article by Prof Aleks Buda, Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: "Historiography in the Service of Chauvinist Politics--On the Seminar 'The Illyrians and the Albanians' at the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts"]

[Excerpts] As the Yugoslav press and radio has announced, a series of lectures was recently held in Belgrade, organized by the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, entitled "The Illyrians and the Albanians." The topics chosen for these lectures were, "The Origin and Process of Formation of the Illyrians," "The Illyrian and Dardanian Kingdoms," "Albania in Ancient Times," "Albania From the Seventh to the Ninth Centuries," "Albania in Byzantine Sources," and "The Albanians in the Light of South Slav Sources."

It is apparent from the news that the Yugoslav press devoted particular attention to the proceedings at the academy. The series of lectures was opened by an "organizing" speech by the academician Antonio Isakovic, the chairman of the council of Kosovo studies at this academy, who stressed that the problem of the Illyrians and the Albanians and their origins has for some time been encouraging scientists "to illuminate and solve this old knot in Balkan history."



It is understandable that not only specialists, but broader circles of public opinion in our country and abroad should be interested in these problems, as has been shown by the academic conferences with international participation organized down the years by the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The most recent of these was the Second Conference on Illyrian Studies (September 1985). It is also natural and understandable that academic circles and public opinion in those countries on whose territory the Illyrians lived in ancient times, and who are now neighbors with the territory of their descendants, should also be interested in these problems. As the well-known Yugoslav expert on the Illyrians Aleksander Stipcevic (Zagreb) has said: For the Croats, the Serbs, and the Montenegrins, the Illyrian problem is part of the history of their country, while for the Albanians it is part of the history of their own people.

And so Albanian scientists have rightly always followed with interest academic work in the field of Illyrian studies carried out in Yugoslavia and other countries, just as they have also followed the proceedings of this session.

It must be said that the initiative of the Serbian Academy of Sciences to organize this series of lectures has caused a certain "amazement" among us, since its ostensible subject is in somewhat flagrant contradiction to the directives and instructions given in recent years by the highest institutions of party and state in Yugoslavia, that research and discussion of the ancient history of particular peoples should be abandoned, and that attention should be concentrated instead upon the recent common history of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. In a series of talks given some years ago on Radio Belgrade (1982) by the well-known academician S. Cirkevici, it was emphasized that modern science had fanned the flames of problems of ethnogenesis, while at the same time the academician M. Garasanin declared that the study of problems to do with the formation of ancient peoples and their territories and cultures had become a field of activity for antiscientific, biological and racist concepts, and that it would be a good idea to give up such topics as the ancient origin of modern peoples.

But experience itself shows that such "instructions" did not in general, prevent studies on ethnogenesis in Yugoslavia, but served only to forbid Albanian researchers in Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia to research the ancient history of their own people. Representatives of science, especially at the University of Pristina, justly raised their voices, since these prohibitions declared the whole history of the Albanian people to be anathema, and considered the study of the history of the Illyrians and their genetic links with the Albanians as a heresy or, even worse, a political crime on the same scale as that of "irredentism."

The anti-Albanian hysteria and the "witch hunt" which have been pursued now for several years, particularly in the Republic of Serbia, and which have now reached the highest levels, have led to ugly and absurd scenes and events, as when an Albanian academic from Kosovo, of high academic standing and internationally known, was placed, like a modern Galileo, before the Inquisition of the 9th Serbian LC Congress, and was put in the "dock" and forced simultaneously to admit and "deny" his "great sin" of having supported with other scientists the thesis of genetic links between the Albanian and

Illyrian languages and peoples, instead of embracing the "orthodox" and only saving doctrine of the Thracian origin of Albanian and the Albanians.

This is not the first or only occasion which has shown that tendencies "to make the wish the father of the thought" are still present in Yugoslav science, alongside tendencies to deny reality, starting from the well-known scholastic principle that "what should not exist cannot exist." At this seminar we can notice once again another phenomenon--fear of the facts of history.

This is perhaps the reason which impels modern official Yugoslav historiography to pronounce anathema upon studies which deal with problems of ancient history, and with the ethnogenesis of the Albanians. Typical of this was the recent response of the Yugoslav press to the case of a researcher from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, invited to take part in the conference of the Society of Yugoslav Anthropologists, who dared to speak, like his other colleagues, on problems of palaeoanthropology: with the sole difference that he spoke about the ancient Albanians. This was enough to draw a merciless thunderbolt from a specialist invited especially as a "witness," to put down upon him curses and accusations of "racist, nationalist provocations," etc. etc., even while other Yugoslav specialists and even the organizers of the conference were congratulating him and demanding the publication of his lecture.

The case of the Belgrade seminar organized by the Serbian Academy of Sciences demonstrates again that no science can perform its true function, the difficult task of discovering the truth, if it does not start from an objective standpoint and respect the elementary rules of methodology and lacks confrontation and discussion in a broad spirit of professional exchange. It is striking that no researcher from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania took part in this seminar, because none was invited, as a minimum of academic courtesy would have demanded. This courtesy must be observed, at least as a matter of form, towards the institutions of a country whose problems were the direct object of discussion at the seminar. Here it must be said that our scientific life has sought and achieved a range of academic gatherings, with fruitful exchanges of opinion through organized or personal and individual contacts with foreign scientists.

Unfortunately, we noticed that this practice was not observed by the Yugoslav side in its activities in conferences on problems of the formation of the Albanian people and their language and culture, nor at the second conference of Illyrian Studies, to which a number of Yugoslav researchers were invited. Here we noticed with regret that none of those invited took part, and that an internationally known Yugoslav archaeologist who, in response to the invitation, arrived on his own initiative at the Yugoslav-Albanian frontier was prevented from taking part in this conference, which he judged to be so important. This is another proof that shows that the obstacles the Yugoslav side placed in the path of achieving an agreement on cooperation in science and culture between our two countries are part of a systematic anti-Albanian policy which makes the attainment of such an agreement impossible. It is our

deep conviction that it is in the interest, primarily of science itself, but also of our peoples, to find a way to create links of academic and cultural cooperation between our institutions and nations, something which without a shadow of doubt would be useful to our two neighboring peoples.

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CSO: 2100/48

POLITICS

ALBANIA

ALIA DELIVERS ADDRESS ON ARMY DAY 9 JULY

AU151658 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT (in Albanian 10 Jul 86 pp 1-2

[From the speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP first secretary, before army cadres in the Aleksander Moisiu Theater, Durrës, on 9 July: "For Us Army and People Are One and Indivisible, Joined by the Ideals of Freedom, Independence and Socialism"]

[Text] Comrades:

I am delighted to meet you today, comrade officers, commanding officers, and commissars of units and sections of our People's Army. I would like to use this occasion to convey to you and all members of our Armed Forces the most cordial greetings of the AWP Central Committee, and best wishes for the execution of all the duties entrusted to you by the people.

Congratulations also on the 10 July festival, the anniversary of the formation of the People's Army, one of the most significant dates in the history of our National Liberation War.

As we mark this event, we confirm and stress the link and uninterrupted continuity between our army of today, and the Army founded, taught, and trained by our great and glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the army which brought our people freedom and independence, which defended and still defends the victories of the revolution and of socialism.

Under the leadership of the party, our People's Army will maintain and develop the distinguished traditions and noble virtues of the Army of National Liberation, and will cultivate its ardent love for the fatherland and the people.

The defense of the fatherland and its freedom and independence, and the defense of the victories of socialism, have been and remain a sacred duty for everyone. The party has always considered this vital matter closely entwined and united with a range of other basic duties that have been attended to at every stage of the revolution. "For us," Comrade Enver said, "strengthening the economy, building socialism, and defending the fatherland cannot be separated from each other." They depend on each other. There can be no strong defense without a strong economy, while without freedom and independence there can be no construction of socialism, and no happy, peaceful



life, and no better present or future. The people love the army and the armed forces, precisely because they defend these sacred things.

For us, the army and people are indivisible, joined by the same ideals and the same interests, by the ideal of the freedom and independence of the fatherland, and the ideal of socialism. The sons and daughters of the people, enlisted in the units and sections of the army and the other divisions of our armed forces, are trained and matured politically, ideologically, physically and militarily, and are qualified in the use of the weapons and technology with which they are equipped. They are all at the same time the builders and defenders of socialism.

Internal enemies of all hues have attempted at various times to alienate the army from the party and people, and to change its deeply popular character. But all these efforts miscarried, and always will miscarry. We are proud that we have an army politically and ideologically mature, cleansed of enemies, and well prepared in every respect, which loves the party and people with all its heart and is ready for any sacrifice. So let us maintain, develop and strengthen continually these fine qualities in the army, so that it will be closely joined to the party and people always and in every situation, a loyal defender of the socialist fatherland and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our army, in all its sections, must always be ready and alert to defend every inch of the soil of the fatherland, and must be able to meet every attack and emerge victorious over the enemy. We do not aim to attack any country, and do not aim to invade any piece of foreign land. But we do not allow anybody to threaten our borders or take from us the smallest strip of land. The army must be trained in this spirit, militarily, politically, and ideologically.

With characteristic wisdom and farsightedness, our party and our glorious unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, Comrade Ramiz Alia said later on, have given the army clear political, ideological and military guidance, embodies in the People's Military Art and have equipped it with the necessary weapons and technology.

Our People's Army, its officers and soldiers, must master this art well, which brings together experience gained in the National Liberation War with the experience of the People's Army itself, and of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples and proletariat of the world. This art, which has been devised by the party and adapted to our situation and opportunities, also sets out how armed forces and military equipment can be used effectively to guarantee the defense of the fatherland and to ensure victory over any aggressor. So the education of members of the armed forces in this art, its acquisition and use in a creative way by cadres, soldiers, and all members of our armed forces, and the further enrichment of this art in accordance with the situation and economic and cultural development of the nation, with the international political situation, with the development of weapons and methods of warfare by our potential enemies, are all principal duties of the party within the army, and of the commanding officers and staff of every unit and section.

Our Party of Labor has created a whole original system for the military training of the people and the whole nation. The creation of the People's

Military School and its extension throughout the country is a creative application of the teachings of Lenin in the concrete situation of our country. The organizing structures of the army are also perfected in accordance with our conditions and needs. They help us to achieve as high a state of preparedness and alertness as possible at all times and in every situation. It is our duty to exploit this organization as well as possible so that the military education of the people is as effective as it can be.

After talking about the mastery and use of military technology, and about the preparation and training of cadres and soldiers with the aim of exploiting maximally our superiorities to our enemies, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

Our people are a brave people, courageous and determined to defend the freedom and independence of the fatherland at all costs. These noble patriotic virtues, inherited down the generation, have been even more deeply instilled by the party and by socialism. But moral-political qualities, desire and determination are not enough to confront the conditions of war and to defeat our enemies. They acquire their strength and are transformed into decisive factors when they are accompanied by a high level of military training, and when they are linked to the people's military abilities.

From this stem the great importance of maneuvers, such as those which you have carried out in recent days, and the need to take these maneuvers seriously and carry them out intensively and properly.

Maneuvers are exhausting, but are necessary for the continuous strengthening of military preparedness. We have based their organization on the requirements of our People's Military Art, which has as its basis the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and his theoretical military Marxist-Leninist thinking. On maneuvers many aspects of warfare are practiced in the most varied terrain and weather conditions. Fighting skills in both attack and defense are acquired. Liaison and cooperation between units and squads and between different branches of the military service units and other armed forces are perfected. The ability of commanding officers and staff to direct and organize warfare increases.

Later, Ramiz Alia made clear the particular attention that must be paid to tactical maneuvers, as a synthesis of all the other kinds of exercise.

The party, he continued, has demanded, and demands, that everything in the army should be exemplary. The army must be distinguished for order, for speed in action, precision, and an indomitable spirit. Every duty must be exact and must be performed with rigorous discipline. This is necessary in educational work, in exercises, in military preparedness in all disciplines, and in the whole life and activity of units.

The strengthening of military discipline is a fundamental duty for the party within the army, for commanding officers, for staff, and for every officer and soldier. Order and discipline in the army are laws. To insist upon and enforce order and discipline means to apply consistently the line of the party. In this light, the enforcement of responsible and iron discipline and the exact application of all the rules are not options or bureaucratic

demands, but are necessary requirements, without which our People's Army is inconceivable.

The party within the army must strive to ensure that the demands of the disciplinary regulations are understood and applied with greater rigor by all members of the army. First of all communists and cadres should show discipline, and be the first to set an example in the execution of orders and meeting the demands of the regulations. When they are disciplined and follow the rules, then soldiers too will be disciplined and follow the rules. The example of communists and cadres in implementing the program of maneuvers, in executing lieutenants' orders, in ensuring military alertness, in performing control procedures, has a profound and irreplaceable influence in strengthening the group spirit, in strengthening discipline and the moral-political situation.

The people find particular satisfaction when they see neat and disciplined soldiers and officers, performing their duties without fail and strengthening military alertness. Their satisfaction is justifiable because in this way trust in the strength of our army increases, as does love for this dear weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The party, said Comrade Ramiz Alia later, has striven and will strive to train people politically, ideologically and militarily as well as possible, so that they are able to confront successfully every situation which may arise, and always emerge victorious. This basic task of the work of the party in the army is achieved by exemplary organization and discipline, by determination and a revolutionary spirit. In the first place this demands that the work of the basic party organs and organizations be perfected, avoiding every sign of formalism and slackness. They must always keep in mind the duty never to separate words from deeds, and to show that they reject bigheadedness and conformism.

Our cadres, whether full-time or reservists, have a primary role in strengthening the army and in the military preparation of the people. On their abilities to organize and command and on their level of theoretical and practical knowledge, on their monitoring and demands for proper accounting which they carry out in the entire work process in the army, depends on the efficiency and level of preparedness and military alertness among the individual units and sections of the army.

Our soldiers, especially the corps of officers, must always be people with varied interests. They must not only continually follow political, economic, and cultural events in the country, but must themselves to direct participants in them. They must distinguish themselves properly for political militancy and ideological clarity, and must stand out for their cultural level and civic pride.

The figure of an officer must be distinguished by his ardent patriotism, but also by his pure human feelings, nobility and generosity, and by his opposition to petit bourgeois concepts and mean behavior.

His character must combine the fine Albanian military virtues and traditions with the norms of communist morality, the dignity of the military uniform with a broad democratic and popular spirit.

It must never be forgotten that in war, as in labor, the human element is decisive for success. So the party, in every unit and section, must work intensively, passionately and creatively for the ideopolitical and military education of members of the armed forces, to reinforce constantly the moral-political situation, to raise the soldiers' and officers' consciousness, revolutionary vigilance, and high sense of responsibility to the people and the destiny of the fatherland.

The army must refine educative work with communists, with all the members and structures of the armed forces, so that they will be equipped as well as possible with the moral-political qualities which characterized our legendary partisans and which are just as necessary under present conditions for our People's Army. Marxist-Leninist education, education in the party line and the teachings of Comrade Enver, has been and will remain the basis of this educative work. Everybody, cadres and soldiers, must make efforts to master the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party, in its most various forms, avoiding stereotypes, shallowness and formalism. They must deepen their knowledge daily and hourly, with the aim of being capable of understanding correctly the events, phenomena, and processes through which our country and army have passed and will pass. This constitutes one of the fundamental conditions for a constantly strong army, unbowed before difficulties and able to confront any situation, however complicated.

The strengthening of relationships between cadres and soldiers, and between the army and the people, is of primary importance. Our cadres, who are dedicated and revolutionary people, must realize that these links are decisive in strengthening military preparedness. Officers must win the absolute trust of their soldiers, so that a soldier will see his parent, brother and friend in this officer, commander and commissar, and be able to open his heart to him about everything. This happens when officers are continually with their units, among their soldiers, and know well their spiritual condition.

Young people are the liveliest and most active resource of the army. So the active and responsible role of the Albanian Union of Working Youth in the Army must be increased constantly. This is the only mass organization in the army which successfully confronts the tasks set by the party for the reinforcement of military preparedness. There are no successes and positive achievements without the revolutionary activity of young people. So the party in the army must strive to make the youth organization constantly active, to give it a greater sense of responsibility in work, discipline, and military order, able to express its opinion courageously when it sees that matters are not going well, when cadres or communists are not implementing the decisions of the party properly. We demand from young people the best possible performance of their duties, but we must strive for conditions and facilities to be created in every unit, in accordance with the opportunities, to help young people to take part more in sports, culture, art, and science.



After speaking about international problems and political and military developments in the world, the aggressive policies of the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

Under these conditions our task is to sharpen the sword of revolutionary vigilance, to constantly reinforce military alertness in all its aspects, to be as well-prepared ideologically, militarily, and economically as possible, with the aim of confronting every situation which may be imposed upon us.

Comrades:

Important events for the whole party and our people lie before us--the Ninth AWP Congress and the forth-fifth anniversary of the party's foundation. The entire people, working collectives, the cooperative peasantry, down to Enver's pioneers, are mobilized as never before. The results of the first months of this year are encouraging and promising for the realization of the plan for 1986, the first year of the Eight 5-Year Plan. Everywhere since the recent plenums of the Central Committee, we see an explosion of the inexhaustible energies of the broad masses of our working people, our heroic young people and our creative intelligentsia. Increased production, and meeting our needs from our domestic resources, are vital necessities to make our fatherland stronger and life happier for our people. A strong economy is also a strong defense, and so our army comrades, without endangering military alertness, must also make their contribution toward reinforcing the economy.

I would like to express the conviction that the members of our People's Army and all the Armed Forces too will celebrate these important events as they deserve, linked intimately and loyally with the people and the party, in high preparedness for the defense of our socialist fatherland.

Forward, comrades, to new victories, toward the Ninth Party Congress as the heart of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, would have wished--with heads high and with successes!

Long live our People's Army!

Long live the Albanian Workers' Party!

Eternal glory to the name and immortal achievement of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

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CSO: 2020/180

POLITICS

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

**50TH VOLUME OF HOXHA'S WORKS**--Tirana, 20 July (ATA)--The 50th volume of the works of Comrade enver Hoxha came off the press and was put to circulation. The volume contains materials of the January-April 1973 period, most of which are published for the first time. The main materials of the volume are: the closing speech in the 3rd plenum of the CC of the AWP: "The Realisation of the Planned Tasks Remains Always the Main Front of the Work of the Party and of the Broad Working Masses of the City and Countryside," the speech of 15 March 1973 "How Must We Consider and Fight the Imperialist-Revisionist Encirclement of our Country and the Effect of its Pressure Over Us," contributions: "The Transition of the Cooperatives into Agricultural Enterprises Should be Made in a Careful and studied Way," "The development of Literature and Arts is Made in Struggle Against Any Alien Ideological Influence," the talks: "Let Us Fight on Both Sides, Against Conservatism and Liberalism" and "The Exchange of Opinions Between the Masses and the Leaders is Always Useful", Articles, etc. The volume has an index. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 20 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**NEW ARGENTINE ENVOY**--Tirana, 19 July (ATA)--The newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Argentina to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Jorge Taiana, arrived in our country. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 19 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY UNION SECRETARY**--Tirana, 10 July (ATA)--The secretary general of the International Railway Union, Jean Boulet, who at the invitation of the Communications Ministry made a visit to our country, left Albania yesterday. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 10 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**FRENCH EMBASSY RECEPTION**--Tirana, 15 July (ATA)--On occasion of the national day of the French Republic, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the French Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Philippe Legrain gave a reception at the embassy seat on 14 July. Present in the reception were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, the Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj, deputies to the People's Assembly, functionaries of the central institutions, working people of science, culture, art, press and other guests. Attending were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0755 GMT 15 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR ARRIVES**--The newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Brazil to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Ramiro Guerreiro, arrived in our country on 22 June.  
[Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 23 Jun 86 AU] /12913

**POLISH EMBASSY RECEPTION**--Tirana, 22 July (ATA)--On occasion of the national day of Poland, the Charge d'Affaires A.I. of the embassy of the People's Republic of Poland to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Jan Sluchninski gave a reception yesterday. Attending were the vice minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, the vice minister of foreign trade, Marko Xega, and other guests. Present were also officials and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 22 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**ALIA GREETES BELGIAN KING**--Tirana, 22 July (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Comrade Ramiz Alia sent the following message of greetings to the King of Belgium Baudouin: "The celebration of your national day provides me the pleasure that in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name to convey to you warm greetings and through you the friendly Belgian people the best wishes for happiness and prosperity. I avail of the opportunity to wish further development of the friendly relations between our two countries." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 22 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**ALIA RECEIVES THAI ENVOY**--Tirana, 19 July (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Comrade Ramiz Alia received on 18 July the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Thailand to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. (Pranual Navabusya), who presented the credentials. Present at the ceremony of the handing over of the credentials were the Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Zeqi Agolli and the chief of the protocol branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifligu. The ambassador was accompanied by the trade adviser of the embassy (Suthape Hallavanijsa) and the third secretary of the embassy (Surapan Supadirekkul). [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 19 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**SRB EMBASSY THANKS FOR CONDOLENCES**--Tirana, 19 July (ATA)--The dailies carry today the letter of thanks of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in Tirana, which says: on occasion of the death of Comrade Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, distinguished leader of the Vietnamese party and people, the comrade leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania, the People's Assembly, the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as well as representatives of the central department different institutions, mass organisations, work and production centers came to the Embassy of the SR of Vietnam to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to express their condolences over this great loss and to encourage us on these moments of grief. This is an expression of the feelings of friendship and fraternal solidarity of the brotherly Albanian people, the Party of Labour of Albania for the Vietnamese people and party and

for Comrade Le Duan. The Embassy of the SR of Vietnam expresses the Albanian comrades and friends its sincere gratitude and thanks for the sentiments and care they showed and wishes the fraternal Albanian people that under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Raziq Alia at the head, score fresh greater successes for the flourishing of socialist Albania.  
[Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 19 Jul 86 AU] /12913

CSO: 2020/180



POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, ATANASOV GREET USSR LEADERS ON SPACE FLIGHT

AU211308 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jul 86 p 1

[Text] To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Andrey Andreyevich Groznyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the entire Bulgarian people, and on our own behalf we send the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, the fraternal Soviet people, and you personally, most cordial greetings on the successful completion of the space flight of the glorious USSR Cosmonauts Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovov, which is exceptional in its significance and complexity.

We express the sincere happiness of the entire Bulgarian people at the new remarkable victory of Soviet science and technology in the systematic researching of space, for which the new "Mir" space station has revealed significant opportunities. The heroism of the Soviet cosmonauts, who were the first in the history of space flight to conduct a flight between two space stations, evokes special interest and admiration.

The present space flight proves once again in a convincing manner that the use of space and its research must serve only the benefit of all people on the planet and the goals of peace and social progress.

From the bottom of our hearts we wish you, dear comrades, and through you, all participants in the preparation and implementation of the space flights, and the entire Soviet people new successes in studying and mastering space, in putting into effect the historical decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, and in the struggle for world peace and security.

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CSO: 2200/152

POLITICS

BULGARIA

YORDANOV IN ANGOLA FOR COOPERATION TALKS

Presides Over Session

AU071920 Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 7 Jul 86

[Text] Luanda, 7 July (BTA)--The Bulgaro-Angolan Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation held its 6th session in the Angolan capital. The session was presided over by the co-chairpersons of the commission Mr Georgi Yordanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy premier and chairman of the Council of Intellectual Development, and Ms Maria Nambo Cafe, candidate member of the CC of the Politburo, secretary of the CC of the MPLA-Workers' Party and Minister of State.

They signed a programme for economic, techno-scientific, commercial and cultural cooperation between the governments of Bulgaria and Angola for the 1986-1990 period and other documents.

Mr Georgi Yordanov also conferred with Mr Afonso van Dunem (M'binda), Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the MPLA-Workers' Party and Angola's minister of foreign affairs. The two signed a cooperation agreement between the BCP and the MPLA-Workers' Party and a plan for cooperation between the two parties in the 1986-1988 period.

The Bulgarian co-chairman of the commission met with senior functionaries of the MPLA Workers' Party and of Angola's Government, with business executives and intellectuals.

The session passed in a spirit of unanimity on all matters discussed. The Bulgarian people's solidarity was expressed for Angola's struggle with internal and external enemies, as well as for her development along the road of social progress.

Received By Dos Santos

AU081824 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 8 Jul 86

[Text] Luanda 8 July (BTA)--Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of MPLA Labour Party and president of Angola, received the leader of the Bulgarian delegation for the 6th session of the Bulgaro-Angolan Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Mr Georgi Yordanov, alternate-member of the

Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria and Chairman of the Council for Intellectual Development.

Mr Georgi Yordanov delivered greetings to Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos expressed his gratitude for the solidarity of the Bulgarian people.

During the talk both sides stressed that the Bulgaro-Angolan friendship and cooperation are undergoing an upgrade development, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and serve as example for the vitality of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

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CSO: 2200/152

POLITICS

BULGARIA

'LIMITED OPTIMISM' FOR NEXT MBFR ROUND

AD071412 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 4 Jul 86 p 2

[Anastasiya Ivanova's Article: "Preconditions of Limited Optimism"]

[Text] The regular, 39th round of the talks of Vienna's Hofburg Palace on mutually reducing arms and armed forces in central Europe has ended. The talks were attended by 19 countries of the two military-political groups--NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The goal of the talks is clear: to work out a mutually acceptable manner of reducing tension in the military area through lowering the great concentration of troops and combat equipment in the continent's central regions. However, despite its 13-year existence this forum has not yet achieved any concrete results. We must point out with regret that this round, too, ended without any progress. Despite the constant and consistent efforts of the socialist countries to find a way out of the deadlock, their Western partners continue to conduct their old policy of dragging on and lack of a constructive attitude, which in practice hinders the successful development of the discussions. Recently the Warsaw Pact member-countries made several proposals which definitely make it possible to reach an agreement on an initial reduction of USSR and U.S. ground troops in central Europe.

Throughout the entire 39th round they clarified the details of their proposals and urged the Western partners to progress toward concrete work on the proposals. However, the NATO states, through their one-sided approach detached from reality are turning the work of the talks into a chain of futile discussions. Their unrealistic demands for verification and control measures actually violate the principle of equality and mutual benefit, a postulate with which the socialist countries could not agree. This discrepancy in the positions darkens the hopes of the European peoples for progress at the Vienna talks. Nevertheless, there are preconditions for limited optimism that things could change during the next round. This limited optimism is based on the recent Budapest initiatives of the socialist countries. At the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states an extensive program was produced for disarmament and reducing the armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. This program could facilitate the implementation of expectations for military detente in Europe, if the West shows a sensible attitude and a real willingness to achieve progress.

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CSO: 2200/152



POLITICS

BULGARIA

CONTROL-AUDITING COMMISSION REVIEWS PETITIONS

AU031429 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jul 86 p 2

[Gencho Boshnakov report: "At the BCP Central-Auditing Commission--Trust Is Not Granted Free"]

[Text] A meeting of the Central Control and Audit Commission Bureau was held yesterday. Petitions and objections of punished party members, most of which were addressed to the 13th BCP Congress, were reviewed.

Following thorough investigations and discussions, the BCP membership was restored in the case of nine individuals. The punishment of one party member was commuted from "expulsion from the BCP" to "severe reprimand." At the request of one punished party member, the Central Control-Auditing Commission Bureau will adopt its decision only after the Supreme Court has pronounced a sentence following the trial, while in the case of two other party members, the basic party organizations in their work places or places of residence were granted the right of handling the petitions. In the case of a participant in the armed struggle against fascism and capitalism, he was granted the recognition of his uninterrupted party membership dating since the period prior to 9 September 1944.

We are impressed by the fact that, in most cases, the severe punishments did not change the attitude of the petitions toward the party. "My expulsion from the BCP, which was justified, was a cause of great distress for me," Rangel Chomakov from Plovdiv writes in his petition, but he does not assume the attitude of someone who has been offended. He declares he will even more conscientiously continue to work, that he will even more actively participate in the country's sociopolitical life. This approach proves that the shortcomings committed are not part of his character and of his behavior. This is why he once more earned the trust of the party.

At the same time, however, 13 petitions for the restoration of party membership were rejected. The reasons vary, but the prevailing elements are the severity of the shortcomings committed, the insufficient positive change in the attitude of the individuals, and their lack of sincerity. Particular importance is attached to the question of the extent of the damage caused by the results from violations of socialist law and socialist morality to our society, as well as to the question of the damage caused by abuses and incompetent management, and so forth. As a matter of principle, the BCP is

ready to manifest understanding and trust as regards party members who have been punished intentionally and allegedly for various reasons, but actually for the severe criticism they expressed and for their irreconcilability toward shortcomings. Perhaps their criticism was not always voiced in the most appropriate manner, but they always stood up in defense of public interests. Such is the case of Atanas Mikhaylov from Kazanluk.

The documents of the forthcoming BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission plenum were discussed at the same meeting, as well.

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CSO: 2200/152

POLITICS

BULGARIA

DEATH OF FORMER POLITBURO MEMBER

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 19 July, on page 6 carries a 900-word obituary on the death on 17 July of "Rayko Danyanov, hero of Socialist Labor, active fighter against Fascism and Capitalism, tireless constructor of our Socialist Motherland, and selfless figure of the International Workers' and Communist Movement." The cause of death is not given.

The obituary lists Rayko Danyanov's Career Highlights, including his membership in the CPSU and studies at the "N.K. Krupskaya Academy of Socialist Education." The obituary also mentions that "in 1958 Rayko Danyanov was elected member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In the period of 1962-67 he was chairman of Bulgaria's Slavonic Committee." This is the last post mentioned by the obituary, which is signed by Todor Zhivkov; Georgi Atanasov; Grisha Filipov; Yordan Yotov; Milko Balev; Chudomir Aleksandrov; Petur Dyulgerov; Tsola Dragoycheva; Vladimir Bonev; Khristo Khristov; Khristo Orlovski; Trifon Pashov; Ivan Raykov; and Mircho Milchev.

/12913

CSO: 2200/152

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

**SFRY ECONOMIC EXHIBITION--**Sofia, 7 July (BTA)--Twenty-seven firms of Bosnia and Herzegovina are represented at the economic exhibition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which was opened today. They are from the field of mechanical engineering, electronics and the automobile, chemical pharmaceutical and light industries. Opening the exhibition, Mr Petur Ignatov, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Industry and Commerce Chamber, and Mr Abdulah Mutap CIC, chairman of the economic chamber of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, stressed the actual possibilities for activating the trade, economic and techno-scientific relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia as a whole and between Bulgaria and the SR of Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular. The organization of such initiatives reflects the wish of the two countries to promote good neighborly relations and their resolution to implement the ambitious plans in the field of economic cooperation. It has been provided for Bulgaro-Yugoslav trade to reach two million and three hundred million dollars in the ninth five-year period (1986-1990) which is 53 percent more than in the previous five-year period. The opening of the exhibition was attended by Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Economic Council with the Council of Ministers, by ministers and other officials. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0950 GMT 7 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**BALEV MEETS DANISH CP CHAIRMAN--**Milko Balev, secretary and member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, met Jorgen Jensen, the chairman of the Danish Communist Party who is on a short working visit to Bulgaria. In a cordial friendly atmosphere information was exchanged on the activities of the two parties at the present stage, and views were exchanged on topical issues relating to the international situation and the world communist and workers' movement. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 86 AU] /12913

**ALEKSANDROV SPEAKS AT VELIKO TURNOVO--**The further improvement and development of the investment process and guaranteeing the fulfillment of the construction program in the Ninth 5-Year Plan period--these were the problems which were discussed today at a plenum of the Okrug BCP Committee in Veliko Turnovo. In his speech, Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov stressed the need for further development and improvement of the investment process, as well as for special attention to be given to its role in the successful solving of the tasks in the social sphere. The plenum adopted a complex program for improving the investment process in the Okrug and for fulfilling the large construction



program during the Ninth 5-Year Plan period. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 18 Jul 86 AU] /12913

SAO TOME PRESIDENT VISITS--Sofia, 7 July (BTA)--En route to his country, Dr Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and principle and president of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and principle (MLSTP), paid a brief visit here today. The guest was welcomed by Mr Mitko Girgorov, vice president of the State Council, and by other officials. They conferred to exchange views on bilateral cooperation, on the situation in Africa and on some international issues of mutual interest. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 7 Jul 86 AU] /12913

ZHIVKOV GREETES REAGAN--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent U.S. President Ronald Reagan a telegram on the U.S. national holiday--Independence Day. It addresses to the American people greetings and best wishes for peace and prosperity. Confidence is expressed that with joint efforts a real contribution can be made to the normal development of bilateral relations in the interest of the two peoples and world peace and security. [Text] [Sofia RADOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /12913

SWISS JOURNALISTS INTERVIEW ZHIVKOV--Sofia, 30 June (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received a group of special correspondents of the Swiss television. He gave exhaustive answers to their questions, concerning Bulgaria's development and different aspects of international relations. The Swiss journalists had an opportunity to visit economic projects and cultural sites. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1611 GMT 30 Jun 86 AU] /12913

TANCHEV RECEIVES MEXICAN PRI DELEGATION--Sofia, 1 June (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received a group of senior functionaries of the National Peasant Confederation of Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) led by Mr Hector Gorduno. Mr Petur Tanchev spoke about Bulgaria's consistent peace loving policy in the Balkans, in Europe and the world and about the proposals put forward by State Council President Todor Zhivkov on the realization of the idea to turn the Balkans into a nuclear and chemical-weapon-free zone. Mr Hector Gorduno stressed that the successes, the experience and the example of Bulgaria and her agriculture are of great interest for Mexican peasants and open up fresh prospects for the expansion of business ties between the two countries. Emphasis was laid during the talk on the support for the constructive initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union, by the socialist and the other peace loving states and seeking to avert the nuclear threat and to build a world without weapons and wars. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 3 Jul 86 AU] /12913

ZHIVKOV'S GREETINGS TO JORDAN'S WARRAD--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has sent the following telegram to Fai'iq Warrad, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party: Dear Comrade Fai'iq Warrad, In the name of the BCP Central Committee, all Bulgarian Communists, and personally in my own name I congratulate you most cordially on the occasion of your 60th birthday and the award to you of the high Bulgarian order "People's Republic of Bulgaria"--first class. In your person we congratulate a loyal son of the Jordanian people, a consistent

patriot, and internationalist, who has devoted his life to the struggle for the defense of the vital interests of the workers, peace, and socialism. We give a high assessment to your tireless activity for developing the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our two countries and for the further strengthening of the fraternal ties between the BCP and the Jordanian Communist Party and the unity of the International Communist and Workers' Movement upon the indestructible foundation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism. We wish you good health and success in your noble activity for the happiness of the people of Jordan, for strengthening world peace, and for the triumph of the great ideas of communism. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jul 86 p 1 AU] /12913

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES SWISS LEADER--Sofia, 21 July (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, had a meeting with Mr Armand Magnin, general secretary of the Swiss Workers' Party. Mr Todor Zhivkov familiarized the guest with the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the BCP and with the strategy for qualitatively new growth of economy on the basis of techno-scientific revolution, in particular. Special attention was paid to Bulgaria's peace-loving foreign policy and to her efforts for turning the Balkans into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone. Mr Armand Magnin spoke about the preparations for the forthcoming 13th Congress of the Swiss Workers' Party. Both sides exchanged views on certain topical issues of the International Communist and Workers' Movement. The two leaders confirmed the readiness of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the Swiss Workers' Party to continue to develop and widen their cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, also attended the meeting. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1008 GMT 21 Jul 86 AU] /12913

CSO: 2200/152

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

**BENO, CHNOUPEK RECEIVED ZAMBIAN GROUP--CTK--**In Prague on Wednesday [9 July], Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, gave a gala luncheon in honor of the delegation of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) of Zambia, headed by its General Secretary Alexander Grey Zulu. The same day, Comrade Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, had talks with the UNIP delegation, headed by Alexander Grey Zulu. The two sides exchanged information about the activity of the CPCZ and the UNIP, and experience from the sphere of intraparty life. The importance of mutual cooperation and the need to develop it further were stressed. The same day, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received at Cernin Palace in Prague, Mavis Muyanda, minister of state of foreign affairs of the Republic of Zambia. During a friendly talk, the two sides assessed the level and prospects of Czechoslovak-Zambian relations and exchanged views on the key aspects of the current international situation. They both condemned the racist policy of the Pretoria regime. [Excerpts] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jul 86 pp 1, 2 AU]/12766

**FORMALISM IN ARMY PLEDGES CRITICIZED--Prague (CTK)--**An all-Army meeting of outstanding soldiers began in Prague yesterday. It was attended by Vladimir Blechta, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; Milan Vondruska, minister of education of the Czech Socialist Republic; representatives of the Union for Cooperation With the Army; the Socialist Youth Union; and other guests. Present also were Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the CSSR minister of national defense; and a delegation of outstanding soldiers and commanders of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, headed by Major General Gennadiy Shtyrov. Colonel General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, stressed in his speech that members of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] have currently begun to implement consistently the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, whose concrete expression is the fulfillment of the tasks of combat and political preparation in the current training years. In a discussion, soldiers exchanged views acquired from organizing and developing socialist competition in the CSLA. Colonel General Jaroslav Klich, chief of the CSLA's Main Political Administration, drew attention to the fact that formalism--which is sometimes manifested by the adoption of pledges which duplicate service duties, and to the fulfillment of which no great exertion is necessary--does not contribute to the quality of socialist competition. In the upcoming period it will therefore be necessary to overcome more decisively shortcomings in the context and orientation of initiatives, in administrative approaches, and in antiquated methods of work. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jul 86 p 2 AU]/12766

RUDE PRAVO ON U.S. ARMS STAND--Prague, July 14 (CTK)--"The White House asserts that it is 'carefully studying' Soviet proposals, but nothing indicates that these 'studies' are yielding results or bringing about the least change in the obstinate American stand," RUDE PRAVO wrote today. In its editorial on the U.S. approach to a political dialogue with the Soviet Union, the paper said that the U.S. information media have recently been "optimistic" about Ronald Reagan's willingness to "talk seriously" to Mikhail Gorbachev, but the continued nuclear tests, space weapons research, and the production of new strategic missiles do not confirm it. RUDE PRAVO went on to say that another Soviet-U.S. summit would fulfill the hopes the peace-loving mankind puts in it only if it takes place in a suitable political atmosphere. The Soviet side is ready for a productive dialogue. "A similar situation on the other side can be seriously doubted." [Text] [Prague CTK in English 0617 GMT 14 Jul 86 LD]/12766

TOMAN LEADS DELEGATION TO NICARAGUA--Managua, July 18 (CTK correspondent)--A Czechoslovak government delegation, led by Federal Deputy Premier and Minister of Agriculture and Food Miroslav Toman, arrived here today to attend celebrations of the seventh anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist revolution. On arrival, Miroslav Toman handed material aid of the Czechoslovak people for the people of Nicaragua to Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez Mercado who was at the airport to welcome the guests. The Czechoslovak delegation laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Carlos Fonseca Amador, a founder of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. The delegation is due to hold talks with leading officials of the Sandinist Front. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 18 Jul 86 LD]/12766

CSO: 2400/356



POLITICS

POLAND

'SERVICE ROLE' OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS EMPHASIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 25, 21 Jun 86 pp 1

[Interview with Vice Minister of Internal Affairs Colonel Zbigniew Rudysz by Ryszard Czerniawski: "We Need Social Acceptance"]

[Text] [Question] Mr. Minister, there exists a fairly common opinion that matters dealt with by the Ministry of Internal Affairs are known to the public only to the extent to which it makes them public, because it lies outside any social control. Yet, for example, the Decree on People's Councils empowers them to oversee the activities of MO [Citizens' Militia] — a power of which the councils hardly avail themselves very often anyway. So then what about that social control?

[Answer] Before I discuss this matter on its own merit, let me draw your attention to another matter: namely, for the first time in the history of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, problems of safety and security have become comprehensively regulated by supreme laws of the land. I'm referring to the Decree on the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Scope of Activities of the Agencies Subordinate Thereto as well as to the Decree on the Service of MO and SB [Security Service] Personnel. These decrees strengthen the importance of law and elevate the position of the agencies responsible for law and order. Since these decrees had previously been discussed by the Sejm and were published, by the same token this affords the possibility of social control over the implementation of their provisions. For example, during the current session of the Sejm alone I have testified thrice on problems of the activities of my ministry to the [Sejm] Commission on Administration, Internal Affairs, and Administration of Justice. During the previous session of the Sejm, Minister [of Internal Affairs] General Czeslaw Kiszczek repeatedly testified on these matters to the Sejm as well as to its commissions. This is the first form of social control over the activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Secondly, the Ministry's activities have become oriented in the direction of reaching the public on many matters through information placed in the mass media on both specific matters and certain problems. For example, before May Day the derailling of trains near Lodz was the subject of a television program. That was a typical instance of sabotage. We intend to similarly make public instances of espionage, etc. In addition, representatives of the Ministry

often participate in all sorts of meetings. I myself several days ago reported on the Ministry's activities at a meeting with SD [Democratic Party] aktiv. and even earlier, with ZSL [United Peasant Party] aktiv. In a word, we attempt to reach the public on matters that once used to be regarded as being the business of the Ministry alone. We are doing so for two principal reasons: in order to keep the society informed about the results and directions of our activities, and in order to win social acceptance of our undertakings. The proper implementation of both decrees in the absence of social support and approbation would be inconceivable to me.

In addition, on the basis of the Decree on the Service of SB and MD Personnel, implementing regulations of an internal nature have been issued but their text is accessible to the public. I'd also like to draw your attention to another document, namely, to [guideposts spelling out] the principles of the ethics and mores of SB and MD personnel which stress, among other things, their role as public servants. This has also become reflected in the wording of the service oath.

[Question] But this role of the public servant conflicts with the reality in which the militiaman is the embodiment of the authorities. Even the most polite militiaman, even a traffic controller, represents the authorities. He can not only ticket a driver and seize his license but even detain him at the precinct for 48 hours. So then what does 'public servant' mean in this context?

[Answer] Viewed historically, the concept of the duties of law enforcement bodies, whether they are police or militia, is associated with different functions in every country. In our country these associations are undergoing a major change. For aside from the repressive function, the preventive function is now being emphasized. If we claim that the country's sociopolitical situation is becoming stabilized — and this is so in reality, as confirmed not only by the calm course of May Day festivities but also by the Ministry's own analysis — then we must act consistently with our claim. In a nutshell, the repressive function must be replaced with educational measures. Of course, whenever acts harboring great social peril are concerned, such as, e.g., crimes against life and health or acts aimed against fundamental political interests such as espionage or diversionary activities, educational measures hardly come into question. But whenever stabilization is concerned, repression must be supplanted with other measures.

The agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are, of course, law enforcement bodies, but our activities are based on the triad of investigation, prevention, enforcement. Above all, we are concerned with investigating existing perils and taking steps to prevent crime. Only when this is impossible do we resort to repression. In this sense, of course, we're the authorities, the more so considering that a definite majority of investigations and cases is passed on by the procurature for resolution to SB and MD offices. It is simply that the procurature is understaffed and, besides, it is precisely our Ministry that is equipped with appropriate technical facilities (e.g., criminology laboratories). That is why the onus of investigative proceedings rests on our offices. As I mentioned earlier, we're

part of the authorities, and such an approach of the authorities to certain occurrences is a necessity.

[Question] But don't you think that the authorities thus construed — and I'm specifically referring to the militia — resemble so to speak a sack into which are thrown matters which no one wants to touch, on the principle of "Let the militia come and settle things"? But does the militia really have to come and investigate, for example, whether Smith or Jones has painted his fence and removed garbage as part of, say, the Cleanliness Drive?

[Answer] The issue you raised has several aspects. First, the name of our Ministry does indeed not say much about what it does. The functions of, say, the Ministry of Agriculture or the Ministry of Metallurgy are readily guessed, but so far as the Ministry of Internal Affairs is concerned it is not so simple, because we sometimes deal with quite disparate matters. At the April meeting of the Sejm I submitted, e.g., an updated draft of the decree on vital statistics entries. One may well ask, what is the connection between the ministry's functions and certificates of birth, marriage, death, etc.

[Question] Precisely because these matters are after all handled by appropriate departments of gmina, city and borough town halls.

[Answer] Yes, but the competences of the minister of internal affairs are so worded that he oversees the activities of particular offices and agencies of public administration, because, from the standpoint of state security or law and order, changes in, e.g., the demographic situation or migration patterns are important. Recently, for example, the demographic nadir has been causing problems with military conscription quotas.

But let's return to the fundamental issue. Indeed — and the militia points this out — there are matters which should be handled by other institutions. Consider the Decree on Sobriety Education. The provisions it contains are addressed to many agencies and concern only to a small extent the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But an effective enforcement of this decree requires cooperation among several bodies, and what sometimes happens that only one body, the militia, is left to do the work. Or consider drug addiction. An addict is defined as a sick person, but the militiaman is not a physician. On the other hand, the militiaman may not act as if he does not see anything and ignore a drug addict lying on, say, a public bench. That is why the militia attends to matters of this kind even though sometimes they exceed its competences. A major role in coordinating the activities of the institutions and organizations linked with legal protection is played by the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Adherence to Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, whose chairman is Gen Cz. Kiszczak and officiating vice chairman General L. Czubinski. The effects of activity of that committee already are evident.

But the basic problem is that our society still has not become aware that occurrences of this kind cannot be curtailed without the participation of the society in the sense of moral pressure and actively disapproving attitude. This concerns besides not only occurrences like drug abuse or drunkenness. If, for example, we analyze crime reports, it turns out that only a negligible

percentage of reports derives from internal control within the workplace. External control counts much more, and it spotlights matters unpleasant to plant management. And are they so difficult to uncover? Often not. It is worse when such things are known but attempts are made to cover them up.

[Question] Is it so surprising when we consider that internal control is subject to the plant director, and it is hardly to be expected that he would saw off the limb on which he is sitting.

[Answer] True, but I also mean something else, namely, social condemnation of the perpetrators of, say, pilferage of public property. But such condemnation is absent.

[Question] Perhaps the society still isn't mature enough for it?

[Answer] At any rate, this is something we miss sorely.

[Question] From what you said earlier it ensues that, wherever possible, you'd prefer to avoid resorting to repressions. Yet, part of the society believes that the repressions are too lenient.

[Answer] We can't always be in accord with that opinion. It probably is due to the desire of part of the society to be protected by demanding rigorous repressions, in its belief in the omnipotence of law. We believe that this isn't valid reasoning. The decree is effective for a certain period of time, and we're systematically checking to see whether it provides an effective instrument for restricting the criminal actions most vexatious to citizens. After all, what matters most to citizens is whether the streets are calm, whether one can depart for one's vacation in the certainty that his apartment will not be burglarized, etc. This is the standpoint from which they judge the performance of the Ministry, the state of public order, and the attitude of the authorities toward this problem. Studies conducted so far indicate that this decree, with its time limit on effectiveness, provides a good instrument for reducing crime, but another question, too, will have to be answered: to what extent have these expectations of the society been met.

Let me avail myself of this opportunity to touch upon an aspect of law enforcement. Preliminary investigations would often be concluded much more rapidly if, let me put it this way, those cooperating with us would show more initiative. The reason is that some lawyers, for example, are not interested in participating in the activities associated with criminal investigation and begin to act only after it is concluded. I mean also, for example, the infrequent participation of lawyers in the experiments conducted at crime sites. Perhaps this is due to various reasons such as, among other things, insufficient knowledge of criminology. If a lawyer does not take part in investigative work, a court trial is more likely to expose possible mistakes made during the investigation which could have been pointed to before its conclusion. As I see it, there should be no conflicts between us and the bar so far as uncovering truth is concerned. For we know of cases in which proceedings end with an exoneration whereas the matter could have been cleared up during the preliminary investigation.



[Question] The 1983 Decree of the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Scope of Activities of the Agencies Subordinate Thereto endowed SF and MO personnel with new rights regarding, among other things, the detention of persons imperiling law and order and the right to conduct personal searches and examine the contents of luggage. You yourself have besides drawn attention to this in your article in the March issue of NOWE DROGI. How do these new rights affect the constitutionally guaranteed inviolability of the individual?

[Answer] Let it be noted that detention is justified when a person's conduct is such as to warrant suspicion that the person intends to commit a crime or transgression imperiling public order and public safety. The decree does not specify the time limits on such detention. This is unnecessary anyway in view of the existing constitutional time limit of 48 hours. The rights of security personnel to perform these functions at transportation terminals and in means of transportation should surprise no one, given the current spread of terrorism, especially aviation terrorism, considering that similar measures are taken on every airfield in the world. The 3-year experience so far in enforcing this decree, including the provision in question, demonstrates that such searches are resorted to almost always only in authentically justified cases.

[Question] I'm also interested in Article 14 of the decree, which empowers the Minister of Internal Affairs to employ — in cooperation with the prosecutor general — technical means of preserving and recording evidence in order to avert the danger of the perpetration of certain major crimes aimed at the institutional foundations, security, and defensive capability of the Polish People's Republic, as well of the crime of genocide.

Article 198 of the Code of Penal Proceedings provides for the possibility of curtailing the constitutional principle of inviolability of correspondence, which concept is construed as letters, other documents and wiretaps. But as for the concept, "technical means," it is broader and may cover quite a few connotations, such as e.g., bugging, etc.

[Answer] The assumption is that this regulation should be enforced only by way of an exception and only in the case of the most dangerous crimes. Experience so far is fully in accord with this assumption. Let me also point to certain major but not always perceived issues linked to this provision.

First of all, it should be emphasized that this provision is to the Ministry of Internal Affairs a highly important instrument for preventive measures. For it should be considered that this concerns taking steps to avert the danger of the commission of a certain category of crimes — crimes at that whose consequences are exceptionally menacing. Thus, the period of employment of the technical means mentioned in Article 14 is the interval of time needed to avert these menaces. In this last case the eventual continued employment of technical means can be solely based on the provisions of Article 198 of the Code of Penal Proceedings, and only to the extent specified.

It should also be emphasized that, when applying this provision, various forms of overseeing the employment of technical means of recording or perpetuating evidence are practiced. For in view of their particular nature and the domain

of civic liberties with which they interfere, it is necessary to apply specific legal safeguards. Mandatory here is a general guideline to the effect that these technical means may be applied only when it is not possible in any other way to avert the danger of the commission of specified kinds of crime.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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POLITICS

POLAND

#### DIVERSE CRITICISMS AT VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES

##### Intellectual Criticizes Party 'Inertia'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 86 p 4

[Statement by Jerzy Jarowiecki, professor at the Voivodship Party School in Krakow: "Test of the Effectiveness of Activity"]

[Text] I will begin by stating that the state of social awareness is one of the important tests of the effectiveness of the activity of our party and the activity of its members, and that it affects, in various ways, the accelerated pace of changes that was initiated by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the party. I will add, however, that the existing crisis in that awareness is also hindering these changes in many areas: in economics, politics, and science.

I am convinced that the Program should clearly and explicitly define the role of the intelligentsia in a socialist state, in disseminating and developing the principles of Marxist-Leninist theories, and in disseminating knowledge about how the socialist state wants to achieve its class interests and what ethical values it considers to be the basic ones.

The responsible attitude of most of society toward work and social property is obscured by negligence, inefficiency, poor organization, and a lack of discipline. We also have to cope with these phenomena in educational circles. In private talks, many party members have said that it is necessary to create conditions in which party members can express a critical position, without fear, about all occurrences of wrong. There has to be a climate that favors wise and courageous criticism, including criticism of management personnel at various levels, and particularly those who make ill-considered or even harmful decisions. This is not just a question of criticism of the central or voivodship authorities, but also, and perhaps especially, of the management personnel in one's own party organization, with respect to one's own colleagues in the workplace, because at the same time we have to overcome the inertia of the milieu, and seek allies on our issues among non-party members for the sake of our program, the party's Program.

### Complaints About Regional Authorities

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 8 p 4

[Statement by Wieslaw Frydrychowicz, foreman in department K-2 at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk: "The Suggestions and Demands Voiced Are an Expression of Concern"]

[Text] If we want to strengthen and build the prestige of the party, the prestige of the authorities, we must not only concentrate awareness and have discernment, but, which is the most important thing, we must know how to solve problems. Unfortunately, there is a lack of this in our local administration. There is a lack of consistency in action and credibility in society, which sees inertia, arrogance, and bureaucracy, and also an indifferent attitude toward the proper demands and suggestions that come from people, from individual party organizations, voiced at open meetings, meetings with councillors, conferences, etc. The suggestions are simply noted, and their standing ends there.

In the opinion of many party members and non-party members in my area, the criticism is above all associated with concern about the future, and concern about the implementation of the PZPR Program that has been created and the realization of the Congress Theses.

For my area, the problems that are the most important to solve are the ones concerning scientific-technical progress in regard to the maritime economy, the adoption of a fixed and consistent way of settling accounts among institutions dealing with the introduction of new solutions in the area of technology, especially in regard to arduous jobs that are harmful to health and which are in short supply, such as hull and ship pipe assemblers and electric welders for hulls.

### Workers Lack Trust in 'Solutions'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 86 p 4

[Statement by Kazimierz Hajduga, a worker at the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops in Nowy Sacz: "Success Depends Upon Us Ourselves"]

[Text] In worker circles, one can sense a considerable distrust and lack of confidence in the effectiveness of party activity, in the possibility of emerging from the crisis quickly and overcoming the negative phenomena in the country's social life. This is due to observation of daily life, which confirms, among other things, the weakness and ineffectiveness of many laws. We talk a great deal about the struggle against social pathology, theft, and cheating, but nearby we see teenagers showing off with automobiles. Fortunes extracted in spite of the tax laws are growing.

There are questions about what the role of workers is in a country governed by the workers' party and in the name of the working class; how a worker is to build respect for labor in his family when there are such divergences in



standards of living; and what the leading and guiding force of the basic party organization is if it is usually a handful of people, who have to justify shortages in shops, the FAZ [Vocational Mobilization and Retraining Fund], [BUTKI], and Polonian firms.

Party members must have a feeling that they really are having an effect upon the situation in the country, and especially in their own voivodship.

Meanwhile, people are disunited and separated. Everyone wants to do things his own way, and everyone wants to conduct his own policy. Never in the past have there been so many proposals for changes and solutions as there are now. It is apparent just from the documents for our conference that every milieu wants to rearrange one other than itself.

Finally, let everyone engage in work from the ground up, but in his own area. Let him do what belongs to him, and if he wants things to be easier for him he has to work--no other method has been invented yet.

#### Individual Discussions Aired Criticisms

Warsaw TRYBUNA ILU in Polish 27 May 86 p 4

[Statement by Stanislaw Slychan, a mechanic at the KGM Transport Plant in Lubin: "Most Gave Critical Opinions"]

[Text] In the individual discussions preceding our conference, attention was frequently called to the fact that both the draft Program and the Theses talk about the broad introduction of informatics, microelectronics, automation, computerization, etc., while we have a shortage of the basic spare parts for keeping the automotive and railroad rolling stock in operation. There is a shortage of screws and of paint for renovation. Corrosion eats up our equipment, and we do not have anything to restore it with. In the language of transportation workers, this is like setting the brake before starting a trip, before starting to implement the program.

As far as the individual discussions are concerned, most of them, in my opinion, gave critical opinions, without varnishing anything, but on the other hand broad, and filled with concern for the fate of the country, the good of the plant, and the authority of the party. The subjects most frequently repeated were relations among people, the working atmosphere, and discrepancies between the targets announced and the realities of everyday life.

There was universal criticism of the price increases, especially those originating in changes in the calculation of products. There was also criticism of the new media, where various kinds of "setbacks" diminish the authority of the party. The excessive amount of propaganda, sometimes presented as slogans, is causing a great deal of doubt and discouragement.

Unfortunately, the discussions confirmed the principle that it is easier to criticize the authorities, the government, and the party, but it is

considerably more difficult to come up with ideas and to be a conscientious implementer of party policy. Often the prevailing belief is that what is bad is "their fault." This is a gap that we have to fill, both before the congress and after it.

### Conditions Hinder Progress

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 86 p 4

[Statement by an unidentified senior foreman at the Zamech Machinery Plant in Elblag: "Barriers to Progress"]

[Text] During the individual discussions, many critical remarks were voiced with respect to the state and economic administration. In the first place, it was stated that the proper desire to increase exports cannot paralyze the economy. Exports of raw materials, semifinished products, machine tools, and tools must be coordinated with domestic requirements. In the second place, the diminishing power of a number of decisions. Before they reach the phase of implementation, they are subject to suspension--through the introduction of various types of exceptions and special regulations. In the third place, activities in support of scientific-technical progress must be more effective. Innovation will not be stimulated if there is still going to be a shortage of incentives motivating enterprises to promote and adopt innovative solutions. Meanwhile, some regulations are actually discouraging these activities.

Acceleration of the pace of the country's development requires efficient management in the area of fuels, energy, and materials. The present guidelines, however, are analogous and often contrary to economic principles.

### Education/Work 'Co-op' Suggested

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 86 p 4

[Statement by Witold Hryniewicz, teacher in the Group of Vocational Schools in Malbork: "Combining Education and Work"]

[Text] In the discussion of the party's draft Program, we have not looked at ourselves enough, at what kind of party members we are and how we are bringing up our own children. At the same time, young capitalist attitudes are frequently formed among young people.

We also give little consideration to whether we are successful in resolving group, class, and local contradictions, so that they do not become antagonistic.

The Program and the Theses contain an appeal to youth to participate in the country's development processes. This call, however, is inconsistent with the thesis from which it is apparent that universal secondary education is still in the distant future. Young people with only a vocational education will not

be well prepared for sociopolitical life, and also for coping with the new demands brought by technical and technological progress.

The congress documents also do not have clearly formulated demands that higher schools do a better job of preparing young people for professional life. The course of studies should be transitional in nature—combining education and work.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# NATIONAL GRUNWALD COMMITTEE SEEKS POPULAR SUPPORT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28-29 May 86 p 3

[Interview with Sergiusz Rubczewski, provincial governor of Olsztyn, by Krzysztof Szczesniak; date and place not specified]

[Text] Among the goals of the National Grunwald Committee [ONG] which, as we have already noted, began its work on 9 May 1986, are popularizing the tradition of Grunwald, disseminating historical and socio-political knowledge associated with the event, inspiring scientific research and publications and caring for the site of the battle--Grunwald Field. A RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter talked with Sergiusz Rubczewski, Olsztyn provincial governor and member of the ONG presidium, on the latter of these subjects.

[Question] The Grunwald concept, as far as I know, has long inspired social activity in Warmia and the Mazury. How was this expressed?

[Answer] For several years, at least since 1972, when I was named provincial governor, Olsztyn residents made efforts to manage Grunwald in a way that was in keeping with its historical importance. At that time we established the social Grunwald Committee in our city and started work on putting the battlefield in order.

We did not have a lot of money and generally the work was done as community service. It is worth saying that we did not interrupt the work even in the difficult period of 1980-1981. Our community workers got in touch with a similar Grunwald committee that emerged in Krakow, but even together we were not in a position to cope with all the needs. We proposed establishment of the National Grunwald Committee.

[Question] As we can see, the important requirements were met, thanks to PRON.

[Answer] I feel a great deal of satisfaction because of that. First, because in this way Grunwald stops being a matter for Grunwald alone and becomes a place the entire public cares about. Second, I will not hide the fact that we are counting on help from the entire society. But I have no illusions that most of the responsibilities will fall to me as head of the provincial administration. There is much work ahead of us--that is a fact--but useful



work, for the good of the people, that will leave a lasting mark. That makes me happy.

[Question] What is there to be done at Grunwald Field; what will the scope of the work be?

[Answer] It is difficult to answer specifically now. The appointed committees are preparing a plan for managing the area. There is a monument, a small museum nearby, too small for existing needs, and with a leaky roof besides. We tried to repair the building on our own—to no effect. So it is necessary either to undertake a thorough modernization or put up a new building for the museum. It would also be helpful to have a real restaurant there, a campground and a source of tourist supplies.

The point is for young people who want to stop longer and get to know the place and the history associated with it to have conditions suitable for doing that. So that they can come face to fact with the knowledge gained in history lessons in reality. A 15-minute ride in a tour bus—as sometimes is the case—is not of much use. In the future we anticipate that about 300,000 visitors will come to the area annually.

We are hoping that there will be youth rallies here every year on 15 July. We would like to see the organization of military oaths on Grunwald Field become a tradition, along with other patriotic events connected to our victory, not only in 1410 but also in 1945.

[Question] Will you be in a position to cope with these plans?

[Answer] As I said, we are counting on public financial help, since we do not have much money of our own. Our enterprises are in a position to do all the work of managing the battlefield and routes of Grunwald. It is worse with materials but I hope we can handle this too on our own. In no way do we want to encumber the national budget. We will do as much as the funds collected from the public allow with far-reaching frugality, without extravagance and without fantastic visions.

[Question] When does the work get under way?

[Answer] It has been going on all along, but on a moderate scale. In order to start on a broader scale, we need to collect more money. I want to say that we are not in a hurry. Better to take it slowly and purposefully without squandering a penny.

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POLITICS

POLAND

TARNOBREZEG PLENUM ON PARTY INSPIRATIONAL ROLE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2

[Text] At the plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee on 28 May, the implementation of the provincial socio-economic plan of the past 3 years was evaluated and the fulfillment of current goals was also discussed.

Janusz Basiak, first secretary of the provincial committee, chaired the conference. In the executive report, delivered by committee secretary Jerzy Zaranski, and in the plenary discussion, it was stressed with satisfaction that in the past 3 years, growth in production was achieved mainly through an increase in productivity. The provincial party unit and city and factory organizations are devoting their constant attention to this matter.

Despite still insufficient potential by construction enterprises, as many apartments were built in this period as in the pre-crisis years. Development of the production of local building materials and their use is taking place, various kinds of residential construction are being initiated and the development of factory cooperatives is advancing.

A significant increase in food production has been achieved in Tarnobrzeg. In the past three years the purchase of grain, slaughter cattle and milk has tripled. This has resulted from favorable weather conditions as well as from public acceptance of the new agricultural policy. At the same time the need to develop the agricultural-food industry in the region was again emphasized.

It was stressed in the discussions that if the losses resulting from worker absenteeism could be reduced by half, it would be possible to produce additional goods worth 1.2 billion zloty, while construction-erection production would increase by 750 million zloty.

Party inspiration and constant supervision of the resolution of fragmentary socio-economic problems are the main goals that were established for party units and organizations in the adopted resolution.

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#### PZPR CC ON SOCIOPOLITICAL BOOK PUBLISHING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Kwiatek: "A Long Way to Satisfaction"]

[Text] On 28 May in the PZPR Central Committee, a meeting took place of the Council on Socio-Political Book Publishing, chaired by Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Section of the PZPR CC. Current problems in disseminating books on these topics were the subject of the meeting.

In 1985, 1310 entries ranking as sociopolitical literature, a total of 32.5 million copies, were published in Poland. This included 349 titles of 30,000 each. Publishing production in this field has assumed more or less this level in the past 3 years.

Thirty-six specialty bookstores are engaged in the sale of sociopolitical books, while in 919, e.g., nearly half of the "House of Books" agencies, there are separate sections for sociopolitical literature.

Unfortunately, as was stated in the materials and the discussion, the popularization of sociopolitical literature leaves much to be desired.

Among the proposals submitted for development of readership of sociopolitical books, deserving special emphasis were those directed at party units and organizations, the educational system and teachers and libraries most of all. The proposal for reactivation of the Socio-Political Book Club produced several polemical comments.

In working out recommendations for development of readership of this literature, said Wladyslaw Lorance in his speech, the existing state of public awareness should be seen as a foundation. Books dealing with sociopolitical issues should be not only a propaganda tool, but above all the main factor in implementing established programs of public education in the fields of history, economics and law, as well as the currently prepared program of secular education.

The council also became acquainted with the evaluation of last years Decade of Socio-Political Books, "Man, the World, Politics," and with the plan of future organizations programs for that function in 1986.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

**FINNISH UNIONISTS VISIT**--Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and PZPR CC secretary, received an official delegation from the Democratic Union of the Finnish People on 13 May 1986. The delegation, headed by its chairman Esko Helle, is visiting Poland on the invitation of PRON's national council. They discussed the crucial issues of joint action of sociopolitical forces in the area of securing international peace, safety, and cooperation. The cooperative efforts and exchanges between PRON and the Finnish union were determined to be proceeding along well and were duly praised. The guests were informed of the current state of the pre-congress [10th PZPR Congress] campaign and PRON's part in the campaign. Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of PRON's national council, was present during this meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 86 p 2] /8309

**LENINGRAD DELEGATION VISITS GDANSK**--A delegation from the Leningrad Oblast visited the Gdansk coastal region for several days. Heading the delegation was Vladislav Korzhov, secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Committee of the CPSU. Also present in the delegation were representatives of the oblast committee, the Baltic Shipping Firm, and a branch of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. They were welcomed by representatives of the local political and administrative authorities with Stanislaw Bejger at the fore. At Westerplatte the Leningrad delegation placed flowers at the Memorial of the Coastal Defenders, and at the Cemetery of Soviet Soldiers. Later they visited the northern port and the old town section of Gdansk. At the PZPR Voivodship Committee headquarters they met with the voivodship ideology aktiv and informed them of the progress of the resolution of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 May 86 p 2] /8309

**PISM HOSTS EDITORS CONFERENCE**--PISM [Polish Institute of International Affairs] hosted a conference for editors-in-chief of periodicals devoted to international issues. Editors of the following journals took part in the session: HORIZONT (Berlin), KUELPOITIKA (Budapest), MEZHOUNARODNI OTNOSHENIJA (Sofia), MEZINARODNI VZTAHI (Prague), MEZHOUNARONAYA ZHIZN (Moscow), and SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE (Warsaw). Participants in the conference met with the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Jan Kinast, with the deputy director of the PZPR CC Foreign Affairs Department, Bogumil Sujka, and with the SD CC secretary Piotr Frankowski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 May 86 p 2] /8309



**SYRIAN JOURNAL DELEGATION VISITS**--A delegation from AL-MUNADII ("Fighter"), the theoretical-political journal of the Baath Party in Syria, visited Poland on the invitation of the editors of NOWE DROGI. The editor-in-chief and secretary of the Information Department of Baath's national committee, Yassin Salman, headed the delegation. The delegation learned of the PZPR's ideological and political activities and its preparations for the 10th party congress. The Baath delegation held talks at the PZPR CC and also at the PZPR voivodship committee in Szczecin and Skierniewice. An editorial cooperative plan between the two journals was discussed in the office of NOWE DROGI editor-in-chief Stanislaw Wronski. The Syrian guests held talks with the CC department directors Stanislaw Gabrielski and Jerzy Lazarz, with the first deputy director of the [PZPR's] Academy of Social Sciences Wieslaw Iskar, and with the deputy director of the PZPR CC Foreign Affairs Department, Miroslaw Dackiewicz. The role of the armed services in contemporary society was presented by Gen. Dyw. Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army. At the conclusion of their visit, the Syrian delegation was received by PZPR CC secretary and candidate member of the Politburo, Jan Glowczyk. Expressions of support for the Syrian struggle against imperialism and Zionism were made during the meetings. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 May 86 p 2] /8309

**PORTUGUESE CP STUDY GROUP**--A three-person study group from the Portuguese CP, composed of cultural activists and artists, visited Poland on the invitation of the PZPR CC. The purpose of the visit was to enable the Portuguese guests to learn more about the general principles of the PZPR's cultural policies in view of the preparations for the 10th party congress and about Poland's contribution to the field of care and preservation of historical monuments. The delegation was received by the director of the PZPR CC culture department, Witold Nawrocki. They also met with the director of the PZPR CC Ideology Department, Wladyslaw Loranc, and with deputy director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the PZPR CC, Bogumil Sujka. In addition, the Portuguese guests met with the directors of a historical monument restoration form. They toured Krakow where they learned about the care of historical monuments and about the city's cultural life. As a result of the talks, they decided to expand the party-to-party cooperation in the cultural field. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 May 86 p 2] /8309

**SOVIET GEOLOGISTS VISIT**--A group of Soviet specialists is visiting Poland to take part in a bilateral meeting of geologists. They plan to appraise the directions, methods and ranges of exploration for new deposits of crude oil and natural gas--in accordance with the cooperative program set up for the years 1986-1990 and in general terms through 1995. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 7] /8309

**CHINESE PRESS OFFICIAL VISITS**--From 20 to 28 May 1986, a delegation of the Chinese press agency XINHUA--with Mu Qing, minister and general director, heading the delegation--visited Poland on the invitation of the Polish Press Agency [PAP]. The delegation was informed about PAP's performance,

and discussed the issue of mutual cooperation with PAP management. A long-term agreement of cooperation between both agencies in terms of an exchange of services and experiences and assistance for correspondents was signed. Minister Mu Qing was received by deputy premier Zbigniew Gertych and met with government press spokesman Jerzy Urban. The XINHUA delegation then embarked on a tour of Poland, learning more directly about the country's life and problems. They met with, among others, the administration of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow and its rector, Professor Antoni S. Kienzkowski, and with the deputy minister of mining and energy, Eugeniusz Ciszak. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2] /8309

SOVIET ARMY POLISH VETERANS--The president of the National Committee of the ZSL, Sejm marshal R. Malinowski, met with representatives of the national council of Polish Veterans of the Soviet Army. General Bryg. Franciszek Cymbarewicz, president of the veterans group, was also present. They were told of the activities of this organization, which functions under the auspices of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2] /8309

PARTY PHILOSOPHERS HOLD CONFERENCE--A three-day national conference of party philosophers was recently concluded in Serock near Warsaw. The topic of the conference was "Marxism in Contemporary Polish Philosophy." A survey of the state of Marxist research in various philosophical disciplines was conducted. Problems in the instruction of philosophy in the high schools and schools of higher learning were also discussed. Papers were delivered by Professors J. Ladosz, Z. Kuderowicz, M. Fritzhand, W. Mejbaum. Professor J. Ladyk chaired the session; he is chairman of the Party Group of Philosophers in the PZPR CC Department of Science, Education and Scientific and Technological Progress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2] /8309

NOWE DROGI EDITORIAL DISCUSSION--On 28 May 1986 an editorial panel discussion was held at the editorial offices of NOWE DROGI, organized in conjunction with the PZPR CC Department for Youth Affairs, Physical Education and Tourism. The topic of the discussion was "The Vision of the Socialist Development of Poland in the Eyes of Youth." Participating in the discussion were youth activists, organizers of youth activities, and researchers in the field of youth problems. The discussions centered on the problems of the young generation's state of mind and on the question of youth's participation in the life of the nation in view of the draft program documents of the 10th PZPR Congress. NOWE DROGI will publish a list of the discussion topics. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 May 86 p 2] /8309

WORKING CLASS IN FILM--The Katowice District Film Distribution Enterprise has prepared a survey of films called "Working Class Themes in Film." The survey was prepared with the upcoming 10th PZPR Congress in mind. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 86 p 2] /8309

CZECHOSLOVAK TOURIST DELEGATION VISITS--On 16 June 1986 Deputy Premier Zbigniew Gertych received a Czechoslovak delegation which is in Poland in conjunction with the signing of a cooperative agreement to encourage tourism

between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The delegation is headed by the Deputy Minister of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade of Czechoslovakia, Ludovit Priecel. The chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism, Boleslaw Kapitaniak, took part in the meeting, as did the Czechoslovak ambassador, Jiri Divis. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 86 p 2] /8309

TONY BENN GUEST LECTURE--Liber Party MP in the House of Commons, Tony Benn, visited Poland from 7 to 10 July at the invitation of the director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs (PISM), J. Symonides. Mr. Benn had meetings with Jozef Czerwinski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR CC; Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, vice marshal of the Sejm; Professor Adam Lopatka, director of the Office of Religious Affairs; Tadeusz Olechowski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Zdzislaw Sadowski, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers. Mr. Benn also met with officials at OPZZ headquarters. Tony Benn gave a lecture at PISM which was received with a great deal of interest. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 86 p 2] /8309

MIODOWICZ BOOSTS OPZZ--On 11 July Alfred Miodowicz met with workers at the "Adamow" power plant in Turek, which is one element of the "Patnow-Adamow-Kielin" power generating plant network that supplies 10 percent of the nation's electricity. During talks with a large cross-section of the plant's work force, A. Miodowicz discussed relations between the party and the trade unions. The OPZZ chairman pointed out that this is a partnerlike relationship. This means that the trade union movement is evolving in an autonomous fashion, and the party's role in this is expressed in the form of the activism of PZPR members. Various problems related to social services and living standard issues were also discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Jul 86 p 2] /8309

WARSAW PZPR STATISTICS NOTED--The Warsaw party organization numbered 137,892 members and candidates on 31 March 1986. Of these, workers made up 20.9 percent, farmers 1.3 percent and white collar workers 74.7 percent. Women numbered 38,905 (28.2 percent) in the Warsaw organization. Candidates made up 4.1 percent. In comparison to 30 January 1981, the Warsaw organization decreased its ranks by 47,962 people. On the other hand, 7,567 candidates were accepting, including 1,811 workers, 121 farmers, 5,092 white collar workers, 116 higher school students and 16 high school students. Among those accepted were 3,141 people age 29 and under, including 2,163 Union of Socialist Polish Youth members, 70 Polish University Student Association members and 23 Polish Scout Union members. Basic units of youth organizations took advantage of the right to recommend their members in 487 cases. This represents 21.6 percent of organized youth who joined the party. In March of this year there were 178 units authorized to offer opinions recommending entrants to the party. The structure of the Warsaw party organization is composed of 54 basic cells, including nine district, 13 city, 12 city-community and 20 community committees. Making up the structure of basic units are three factory and 112 plant committees, 3,604 basic party organizations, 1,157 departmental party organizations and 3,967 party groups. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 86 p 5] 12776

**SUCHEN PZPR CONSULTATION**--A meeting of leading workers, non-party union activists, worker councils and PZPR factory cells from the entire province took place 29 May in Szczecin. Such meetings have a history of several years and are an interesting form of consultation by the PZPR Provincial Committee with non-party members on the most important issues of the party, region and country, as well as an opportunity for direct discovery of worker opinions on the most important social, political and economic issues. The results of the provincial committee plenum, which the day before had deliberated on the problem of work quality and production, were discussed at this meeting. In the opinion of the meeting participants, concurring with the statements of the provincial committee plenum, the lack of concern for the quality of production is the reason for many difficulties of daily life, dissatisfaction and complaints, production problems and economic losses. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA NIEM in Polish 30 May 86 p 2] 12776

**PZPR CC IDEOLOGY COMMISSION**--A regular meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Ideology Commission was held in Warsaw. The meeting was chaired by Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. In the first part of the proceedings, after a discussion, a decision was adopted approving the draft report on the activities of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission during the period between the 9th and 10th Congresses of the party. It is apparent from the report that the commission's activity made a fundamental contribution to reviving the ideological life of the party, and especially to the development of new concepts in ideological-propaganda work and the content of many important ideological and program documents. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Apr 86 p 2] 9909

**CISU 27TH CONGRESS SEMINAR**--On 11 April, the second part of a seminar on the 27th CISU Congress, organized by the Information Department of the PZPR Central Committee and the Main Office of the TWR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship], was held at the Polish-Soviet Friendship House in Warsaw. The participants in the meeting were a 200-member group of the party actif from enterprises cooperating with plants with a similar type of production in the USSR, ministries and central agencies, the TWR actif, Central Committee lecturers, and press, radio, and television journalists. A report on the course of the CISU Congress was presented by Jerzy Majka, the chief editor of TRYBUNA NIEM. Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, met with the participants in the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA NIEM in Polish 12-13 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

**PAP MEETING ON DRAFT PROGRAM**--On 11 April, at the Polish Press Agency (PAP), there was an open meeting of the agency's party organization. Several sections of the draft PZPR Program and the Theses for the 10th Congress were discussed, with particular consideration of the role of the mass news media, including PAP, in disseminating the directions for the country's development outlined by the party. Jan Glowczyk took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA NIEM in Polish 12-13 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

**GREEK CULTURAL CONTACTS**--A Greek cultural delegation visited Warsaw and Krakow from 9 to 11 April. Talks were conducted at the Foreign Ministry on cultural and educational cooperation between Poland and Greece. The delegation was received by Deputy Foreign Minister J. Kinszt and Deputy Minister of Culture and Art W. Jancz. On 11 April, in the presence of Deputy Minister J. Kinszt.



and Greek Ambassador L. Evangelidis, R. Frackiewicz and S. Chrysospathis, the directors of the departments for cultural cooperation of both foreign ministries, signed a cooperation program for the years 1986-1988. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA ILUDU in Polish 12-13 Apr 86 p 3] 9909

WORKER ROLE IN PARTY—On 14 April, Jan Glowczyk, a deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, met with the party activist of the People's Guard Furniture Industry Works in Radom. The problems previously raised in individual talks conducted with party members and the conclusions arising from them for party work were presented by Wacław Czolnowski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee. The role of workers in party life and in the party authorities at all levels, the formation of the attitudes of party members, methods of overcoming bureaucracy in social life, and also numerous issues related to the functioning of the economic reform were discussed. There was sharp criticism of the several months' delay in the ministries' providing the enterprises with the indicators defining their activities for this year. Also demanded was a more active role by central authorities in coordinating the economy. J. Glowczyk expressed views on the problems brought up during the discussion, and answered questions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA ILUDU in Polish 15 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

PARTY LAWYERS MEET—On 18 April, there was a regular meeting of the Party Group of Lawyers at the Department for Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress of the PZPR Central Committee, at which the problems of the development of the state, legality, and socialist democracy were discussed in the context of the draft PZPR Program. A preface to the discussion was presented by Prof Sylwester Zawadzki, a member of the Council of State. The meeting was chaired by Prof Jerzy Kowalski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA ILUDU in Polish 19-20 Apr 86 p 2] 9909

CPSU LECTURERS VISIT—A group of lecturers from the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, with prorector Prof Boris Popov, visited Poland from 14 to 19 April at the invitation of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. The Soviet scholars gave lectures, and met in Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, and Łódź with scholars and students on the subject of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the ways to realize them. The delegation was received by Wł. Ioranc, the head of the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department, who informed its members about the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress and the course of the discussions of the Theses and the draft PZPR Program. During a meeting with J. Maciszewski, the rector of the ANS [Academy of Social Sciences], a protocol was signed on cooperation between the PZPR ANS and the CPSU Central Committee ANS in 1986. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA ILUDU in Polish 21 Apr 86 p 2] 9909

SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION—On 21 April, Marian Wozniak, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received a delegation from the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, headed by its secretary for foreign relations, Ruzimieras Mackiawicziusz. The guests informed the Central Committee secretary about the current tasks of the Soviet trade unions arising from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. M. Wozniak informed the delegation about the economic and sociopolitical situation in Poland and about the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress.

Alfred Miodowicz, the chairman of the OPZZ [Nationwide Agreement of Trade Unions], and Stanislaw Gabrielski, the head of the PZPR Central Committee's Social-Professional Department, participated in the meeting, which took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere. Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz, counselor-minister at the Soviet Embassy, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LITU in Polish 22 Apr 86 p 4] 9909

DAILY EDITOR IN PRAGUE--Prague (PAP). PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan writes as follows: On 23 April, Jerzy Majka, the chief editor of TRYBUNA LITU, completed a visit of several days to Prague. He was visiting the capital of Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Zdenek Horzery, a member of the Secretariat of the OCP Central Committee and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO. Jerzy Majka was received by Jan Fojtik, deputy member of the Presidium of the OCP Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee; he also met with the editorial staff of RUDE PRAVO and with journalists from the Czechoslovak press, radio, and television. At the end of the visit, a joint protocol was signed, which specified, on the basis of the existing agreement, the main directions and forms of cooperation between TRYBUNA LITU and RUDE PRAVO. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LITU in Polish 24 Apr 86 p 9] 9909

AMBASSADOR TO SRI LANKA--Colombo (PAP). Janusz Switkowski, Poland's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Democratic-Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, presented his credentials to the president of that country, Junius Jayawardene. Afterwards the president received the ambassador in an audience, during which they discussed the development of bilateral relations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LITU in Polish 24 Apr 86 p 9] 9909

INTERNAL AFFAIRS ACTIVE MEET--On 24 April, a meeting between Albin Siwak, a member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and the staff of the party-professional cadres and students of the MSW (Ministry of Internal Affairs) Higher Officers' School was devoted to issues related to the upcoming 10th Congress of the party. A. Siwak presented party membership cards to 108 new party members and candidates. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LITU in Polish 25 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

PZPR TRAINING CENTER ON PERSONNEL--On 24 April, at the Party Training Center of the PZPR Central Committee, there was a meeting of the first secretaries of the PZPR institute committees and primary party organizations from the ministries, central offices, and administrations. The meeting was devoted to a discussion of the tasks arising from the 25th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, and to an exchange of experiences in the implementation of the "Principal Assumptions of the PZPR Cadre Policy." The meeting was headed by Mieczyslaw Honkisz, the head of the PZPR Central Committee Department for Cadre Policy. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LITU in Polish 25 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

EGYPTIAN CULTURAL, SST CONTACTS--As a result of talks at the Foreign Ministry, the next program for cultural and scientific-technical cooperation with the Egyptian Arab Republic was agreed upon for the years 1986-1988. The program was signed by Ryszard Frankiewicz, the director of the Department for Press, Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, and Mohamed Farouk el-Hennawy, the Egyptian Ambassador. It covers a mutual exchange of cultural activities, scientific cooperation, scholarship exchange, cooperation in the area of the

mass news media, and also the further development of cooperation in the area of Mediterranean archeology and the continuation of the work on excavation and preservation conducted by Polish missions in Egypt. [Text] [Warsaw TRIBUNA LIUJ in Polish 25 Apr 86 p 5] 9909

CONSULAR TALKS WITH USSR--Moscow (PAP). Regular Polish-Soviet consular talks have been held in Moscow. During the talks, there was a discussion of several issues related to consular protection, legal relations, and also the movement of individuals between the two countries. The high level of development of consular relations was emphasized with satisfaction. [Text] [Warsaw TRIBUNA LIUJ in Polish 26-27 Apr 86 p 7] 9909

HIGHER EDUCATION TALKS WITH GDR--Berlin (PAP). Prof Benon Miskiewicz, the Polish minister of science and higher education, conducted talks in Berlin with Kurt Hager, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on the subject of the further development of cooperation between Polish and GDR schools. Minister B. Miskiewicz also met with Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, the GDR minister of higher education, who presented him with the Silver Order of the Star of the Friendship of Peoples, issued by the chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, in recognition of his services in strengthening the friendship and cooperation between Poland and the GDR in higher education. [Text] [Warsaw TRIBUNA LIUJ in Polish 29 Apr 86 p 7] 9909

SOVIET Komsomol VISIT--On 28 April, Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received a group of delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress, activists from the Lenin Komsomol, who were visiting Poland at the invitation of the ZSPJ (Union of Socialist Polish Youth). The Soviet guests shared their impressions at the conclusion of their visit to our country. They expressed great satisfaction with the opportunity to have direct friendly meetings with Polish colleagues representing the ZSPJ, ZMW [Rural Youth Union], ZHP [Polish Scout Union], and ZSP [Polish University Student Association]. During them, they had an opportunity to convey to Polish youths their own feelings and opinions about the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress and its most fundamental results. The activists from the Lenin Komsomol were also informed about the current tasks being carried out by the Polish youth movement. J. Czyrek emphasized the significance of the 27th CPSU Congress for the international communist movement, Polish communists, and all progressive and peaceful forces in the world. He indicated the significance that the PZPR leadership ascribed to the development of various forms of friendly cooperation between Polish and Soviet youth. He also informed them about the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. Leszek Miller, the head of the Central Committee Department for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism, and Ryszard Wosinski, the head of the ZHP, participated in the meeting. Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz, a minister-counselor at the Soviet Embassy, was also present. [Text] [Warsaw TRIBUNA LIUJ in Polish 29 Apr 86 p 2] 9909

DEFENSE COMMITTEES CONFER--Voivodship defense committees conferred in Bielsko-Biala and Bydgoszcz. At Bielsko-Biala the status of security and public order in the region was evaluated. The deliberations were attended by General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszcak. At Bydgoszcz, among other things, preparation for this year's summer youth drive were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRIBUNA LIUJ in Polish 6 Jun 86 p 5] 1186



**YUGOSLAV INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION VISIT**--On 5 [Jun 86] Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received the Chairman of the International Commission under the Assembly of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia Mijat Sukovic. The meeting was attended by SHPR Ambassador Milivoje Maksic. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**BRAZILIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY VISIT**--Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Gertych, chairman of the Polish-Brazilian Society, received Director General of the World Postal Union (UPU) Adwaldo Cardoso Botto de Barros. Minister of Communications Wladyslaw Majewski took part in the conversation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR BEGINS MISSION**--Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski received on 5 [Jun 86] the newly appointed Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan Abdul Basit Haqqani, who was paying a preliminary visit prior to entering upon his duties in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**SCOUTS SUMMER PROGRAM BEGINS**--On 5 [Jun 86] the Presidium of the Main Board of the Friends of Scouting (RGPH) deliberated under the chairmanship of Army General Florian Siwicki. The presidium considered the preparations for the 1986 summer scouting program. Nearly 400,000 cub scouts, scouts, and instructors will participate in various forms of recreation. In addition, about 335,000 children and youth will take part in programs organized at their localities. The Chairman of the RGPH Army General Florian Siwicki dispatched a letter to heads of central and local administrative bodies appealing to them for effective assistance and the exploitation of every social and economic possibility with the object of assuring the implementation of this year's program in accordance with the plan and thus promoting a greater participation of the Union of Polish Scouts (ZHP) in rearing the rising generation of Poles. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 6 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**ARGENTINE PEACE ACTIVISTS VISIT**--Poland was visited by Ruth Chervin and Oscar Litwin, Argentinian physicians who sojourned in our country directly after the meeting of physicians against nuclear war held in Cologne, FRG. The Argentine guests, activists of the movement of physicians to prevent nuclear war and of the Argentine peace movement, met with representatives of the All-Polish Committee for Peace, the FRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council, the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party, and the All-Polish Consensus of Trade Unions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 7-8 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**ACADEMIC CONFERENCE ON PEACE**--On 6 [Jun 86] commenced in Rynia the Scientific Conference on Problems of International Peaceful Order, organized by the Institute of International Relations, Warsaw University, as part of the celebrations of the International Year of Peace. The deliberations, chaired by Professor Jozef Kukulka, were attended by Waldemar Swirgon and representatives of the All-Polish Peace Committee (OKP). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA IUDU in Polish 7-8 Jun 86] 1386

**BELGIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS VISIT**--On 5 and 6 [Jun 86] were held in Warsaw political consultations between the Polish and Belgian ministries of foreign affairs. On the Polish side the talks were led by Deputy Prime Minister Tadeusz Olechowski, and on the Belgian side by Director General for Political



Affairs Frans Boekelandt. The head of the Belgian delegation was received by Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski. The subject of the consultations was the status and prospects of bilateral relations and fundamental problems of the international situation, with special consideration of European affairs and the KEME [Conference on Security and Safety of Europe] process. The talks confirmed the mutual desire for further development of mutually favorable cooperation between Poland and Belgium. They demonstrated the need for active measures to promote a return to detente in East-West relations, halt the arms race, and a constructive international cooperation. The Ambassador of Belgium Thierry de Gruben took part in the consultations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY MEETING--In Warsaw was held an all-Polish conference of the aktiv of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPFR), devoted above all to aspects of the activity of the basic elements of that organization. The conference coincided with the 40th anniversary of the First TPFR Congress. Strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship through the propagation of knowledge about the USSR and Polish-Soviet relations continues to be a topical task, as emphasized by Chairman of the TPFR Administrative Board Stanislaw Wronski. The conference was attended by Director of the Ideology Department under the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7-8 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

OLSZTYN EDUCATION ACTIVISTS MEET--Problems of education and upbringing in the light of the documents for the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed on 7 [Jun 86] during a conference of the region's educational aktiv. Invited delegates to the 10th Congress listened to the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

SCOUTS SEEK YOUTH ACTIVATION--Exploration of ways of energizing the activism of school youth was the topic of the Sixth All-Polish Assembly of Representatives of Senior Scouts, which was concluded on 8 [Jun 86] in Warsaw. During the assembly, "A Report on the Condition of the Student," representing the voice of the student youth on the state of education in Poland, was transmitted to the educational authorities. In addition, the draft "Ideological Declaration of the Rising Generation" was discussed, on pointing out that it requires deliberation and discussion by all members of the Union of Polish Scouts (ZHP). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

DANISH YOUTH IN GDANSK--The role and tasks of youth organizations in strengthening peace and the development of international cooperation were the topics of a seminar commenced on 7 [Jun 86] in Gdansk, which is being attended by representatives of Danish and Polish youth organizations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

MINISTER DISCUSSES SCHOOL ISSUES--Educational problems were the subject of a meeting between teachers, school directors, school inspectors and Minister of Education and Upbringing Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska, held on 9 [Jun 86] in Poznan. More than 400 persons took part in this meeting, and they had an opportunity to take the floor on issues important to Polish education. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**UKRAINIAN FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY VISIT**--The summation of 30 years of accomplishments of the Ukrainian Sociocultural Society was the subject of the gala plenum of the Administrative Board of the Society held on 15 [Jun 86] in Warsaw. The proper climate for the coexistence and development of population of Ukrainian origin in People's Poland promotes fruitful work for our common goal, namely, broad development of the country, as stated to a PAP journalist by Eugeniusz Kochan, chairman of the Society's Administrative Board and member of the National Cultural Council. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

**FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY VISITS MOSCOW**--Moscow--The USSR was toured by a 30-member delegation of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPFR), which took part in an international seminar of the aktiv of the societies for friendship with the Soviet Union operating in the socialist countries. During the second part of the program of its sojourn in the USSR the Polish delegation held many meetings with activists from the Georgian department of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. Among other things, TPFR activists met with Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republic and Member of the Georgian CP Central Committee Tamara Iashkarashvili. A group of Polish activists headed by Vice Chairman of the TPFR Administrative Board, Member of TPFR Presidium, and Secretary of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Committee Kazimierz Kozub was received by Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee Guram Yenukidze. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 86 p 7] 1386

**CPSU CONGRESS SEMINAR IN MOSCOW**--Moscow--The special correspondent of PAP Wojciech Stankiewicz reports: "'The Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Their Implementation' -- such was the topic of a seminar of the aktiv of societies for friendship with the Soviet Union operating in the socialist countries, held in Moscow. The organizer of this interesting and important event, representing a forum for the exchange of thoughts and opinions about the historic significance of the 27th CPSU Congress, was the Union of Soviet Societies for Foreign Friendship and Cultural Relations. An active part in the seminar was taken by a 30-member Polish group headed by Vice Chairman of the TPFR Administrative Board, Member of the TPFR Presidium, and Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee Kazimierz Kozub." [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jun 86 p 9] 1386

**LITHUANIAN DELEGATION IN BIALYSTOK**--On 10 [Jun 86] Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda received a delegation of the Lithuanian Socialist Soviet Republic headed by CPSU Central Committee Member and Prime Minister of the LSSR Vitautas Saulaskas, as well as delegations from Grodno Oblast. The delegations are sojourning in Poland at the invitation of Bialystok Voivodship, with which they have been maintaining close and friendly contacts for many years. Emphasis was placed on the immediacy and specificity of cooperation on both sides of the frontier, particularly as regards production plants and trade enterprises, which systematically barter their surpluses of goods. The conversation was attended by representatives of voivodship authorities headed by First Secretary of the Bialystok Voivodship PZPR Committee Wlodzimierz Kolodziejuk. Councilor of the USSR Embassy Lev

Klepatskiy was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**JOURNALISTS MEET GDR ATTACHE**—On 10 [Jun 86] at the House of the Journalist in Warsaw was held a meeting with the Press Attache of the GDR Embassy Konrad Mueller, organized by the Club for Youth Affairs under the Democratic Party of the Polish People's Republic. Journalists were briefed on the strategic tasks posed to GDR youth, and especially to the FDJ, by the 11th SEPD Congress. In this context, vacation exchanges of Polish and German children and youth, which this year will total 300,000 persons from both countries, also were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

**BIALYSTOK HOSTS SOVIET TRADE DELEGATION**—The development of frontier barter between Polish and USSR domestic trade organizations, which already has a 25 years old tradition, was on 10 [Jun 86] the subject of a Polish-Soviet seminar in Bialystok. The seminar was attended by trade experts from the eastern voivodships of Poland, and representatives of trade organizations from the border regions of the USSR and of the foreign trade office in Moscow handling the organization of the barter of surpluses of goods among the socialist countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

**BLOC WRITERS ON CONTEMPORARY HERO**—"The Literary Hero and the Contemporaneity" was the topic of a 3-day international seminar of writers, inaugurated on 10 [Jun 86] in Lodz, which is being attended by literati from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the USSR. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

**STUDENTS VISIT SOVIET EMBASSY**—Senior pupils from the elementary schools of Zoliborz Borough visited the USSR Embassy in Warsaw. The pupils, members of TPFR school circles, toured the premises of the embassy. They also viewed, among other things, a film about the capital of the Land of the Soviets. The young people also met with Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov, who expressed his gratification at the developing friendly contacts between schools in Poland and the Soviet Union. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 4] 1386

**MINING UNIONISTS CONFERENCE**—The 14th Assembly of Metallurgical Trade Unions deliberated on 11 [Jun 86] in Katowice. Activities so far were summed up. Zbigniew Szalajda, who took part in the deliberations, stressed the importance of the voice of the unionists during the stage of preparation of documents for the 10th PZPR Congress and to the socioeconomic plan for the current 5-year period. New officers were elected: Alfred Miodowicz was re-elected to the post of chairman of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions. The deliberations were also attended by Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski, as well as 17 heads of the ministries of metallurgy, machinery industry, and labor, wages, and social services, and also of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

**DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS**—Defense committees deliberated in the voivodships of: Opole, where problems linked to the development of telecommunications were discussed; and Walbrzych, at a circuit session in Nowa Ruda where the



sociopolitical situation and the state of security, order, and discipline were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 5] 1386

KISZCZAK ON CRIME—11 [Jun 86] Czeslaw Kiszczak met with the sociopolitical aktiv of Wroclaw Voivodship. The principal problems of combatting crime and phenomena of social pathology were discussed. During his visit to Wroclaw he also toured the Computer Center of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs (WUSW). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

FRENCH FOREIGN AFFAIRS TALKS—On 11 [Jun 86] were held in Warsaw political consultations between the Polish and French ministries of foreign affairs. The talks were conducted on the Polish side by Deputy Prime Minister Tadeusz Olechowski and on the French side by Director General Pierre Morel and Director for European Affairs Francois Plaisant. The present state of bilateral relations was discussed and, in addition to political dialogue, the state of economic, cultural, and scientific-technical cooperation was evaluated. Both sides expressed readiness to act on behalf of further development of relations in all domains. In addition, views were exchanged on the international situation, with special attention devoted to problems of East-West relations, disarmament issues, and prospects for the continuation of the KSEWE [Conference on European Security and Safety] process. The consultations were attended by the Ambassador of France Jean-Francois Noiville. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

BEDNARSKI CITED IN CZECH JOURNAL—Prague—The latest issue of the Czechoslovak CP Central Committee monthly NOVA MYSL contains a lengthy article by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, "The Polish United Worker Party Prior to Its 10th Congress," in which the author analyzes the situation within the party and discusses the tasks facing it at the present stage. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

LEGAL PROFESSION PROBLEMS—On 9 [Jun 86] PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla met with representatives of the leadership of the Polish bar. Principal problems of the community were discussed, including the tasks of the bar as regards protecting legal order and counteracting social pathology. J. Baryla stressed the role of the legal profession in shaping the legal culture of the society. The meeting was attended by Director of the Socio-Legal Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stanislaw Ciosek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

PARTY VOIVODSHIP 'OLYMPIADS'—In seven voivodships (Bydgoszcz, Kielce, Koszalin, Krakow, Lublin, Torun, and Wloclawek) olympiads, tournaments, or contests prepared and conducted — which is worth noting — through civic efforts represent an increasingly popular and highly valuable form of propagating knowledge about the party and its programs, traditions, and tasks. An interesting attempt at a closer look at the experience gained and accomplishments of this initiative as well as to explore the opinions of participants in olympiads on knowledge about the party, was a meeting of nearly 40 winners of voivodship contest finals and organizers of this project at the PZPR Central Committee. Tadeusz Porebski took part in the discussion, and he also described the course so far of the campaign prior to the 10th PZPR Congress. The meeting was also attended by Director of the Department for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism under the Central Committee Leszek Miller, who answered a question concerning the implementation of the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Jun 86 p 2] 1386



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## CEAUSESCU, FRG'S STERCKEN DISCUSS ECONOMIC TIES

AU171900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 17 Jul 86

/Text/ Bucharest AGERPRES 17 Jul 86--Thursday afternoon Hans Stercken, president of the Interparliamentary Union Council, president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany, met representatives of the Romanian press.

The guest stressed he was greatly honoured and pleased by the call paid on President Nicolae Ceausescu and by the talks on the relations between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany, the collaboration between the parliaments in the two countries as well as on certain important aspects of the current international political life.

The president of the Interparliamentary Union Council highlighted with satisfaction that during the interview the sides also approached issues related to enhancing the role of parliaments, of the Interparliamentary Union in point of promoting a policy of detente, disarmament, collaboration and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Hans Stercken appreciated the positive course of the Romanian-West German relations and expressed the wish for them to grow in future on multiple planes, and highlighted the contribution the parliaments in the two countries may make in this respect.

Referring to the evolution of the current international situation, the guests showed that the Bucharest exchanges of opinion brought to the fore the common preoccupations in point of disarmament issues, both in the field of nuclear disarmament and in that of the chemical and conventional weapons. He set forth the need for an intensification of the efforts of all the states in view of achieving disarmament, which would also contribute to eliminating the obstacles from the path of collaboration in the technological field, would open the prospects of a more intense collaboration on the economic plane, would result in strengthened confidence among nations, would provide the prosperous development of the whole world.

In Europe, Hans Stercken said, the common history, the traditions, the economic and scientific desiderata should lead to a much tighter collaboration among the countries in the continent. To this end one must take into consideration not the elements separating us but those uniting us.

The president of the Interparliamentary Union Council attached special appreciation to the substantial, permanent support given by Romania, by our country's government and parliament to the activity carried out by the Interparliamentary Union to attain its targets.

POLITICS

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CSSR'S STROUGAL CABLES DASCALESCU--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has received a telegram on behalf of Comrade Lubomir Strougal, premier of the CSSR Government, in which he expresses thanks for the congratulations extended to him on his reinvestiture in that office. The cable expresses the conviction that the governments of our countries will act to further deepen friendship and many-sided cooperation between the SR of Romania and the CSSR and between the Czechoslovak people and the Romanian people. /Text/ /Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jul 86 p 5 AU/ 12228

BULGARIA'S ZHIVKOV THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania: Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu: Please accept my sincere thanks for the cordial greetings and best wishes you conveyed to me on the occasion of my re-election to the office of chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic. I believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the SR of Romania will continue to develop for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Romanian people and in the interests of the unity of the countries of the socialist community and of the cause of peace and socialism throughout the world. I wish you new successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and in building the comprehensively developed socialist society in your homeland. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic. /Text/ /Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Jul 86 p 5 AU/ 12228

VADUVA MEETS ZAIREAN OFFICIAL--Bucharest, AGERPRES 14 Jul 86--Talks are held in Bucharest between Ilie Vaduva, foreign affairs minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mandungu Bula Nyati, state commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zaire, who is paying an official visit to Romania. In keeping with the accords reached at top level, the two ministers analyze the stage and prospects of Romanian-Zairean relations. Special attention is paid to problems relating to the expansion of economic collaboration, intensification of cooperation in domains of common interest, general development of relations between Romania and Zaire. Current aspects of the international situation were also approached. The guest also had interviews with Gheorghe David, minister of agriculture; Vasile Pungan, minister of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Ioan Folea, minister of Mines, Oil and Geology; Ion Teoreanu, minister of Education and Instruction. Possibilities were examined to amplify the Romanian-Zairean collaboration in the respective domains. /Text/ /Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1634 GMT 14 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

ZAIREAN COMMISSIONER'S VISIT--Bucharest AGERPRES 12 Jul 86--The state commissioner for foreign affairs of the Republic of Zaïre, Mandungu Bula Nyati, arrived in Bucharest on Saturday, 12 July, for an official visit to Romania. The guest was welcomed at Otopeni Airport by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, and by other officials. /Text/ /Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1801 GMT 12 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

GIOSAN, VADUVA MEET GREEK LEGISLATORS--Bucharest AGERPRES 18 Jul 86--On Friday, 18 July, the Grand National Assembly chairman, Nicolae Giosan, had an interview with a parliamentary delegation of the Hellenic Republic, led by Mikhail Stefanidhis, first vice president of the National Assembly (VOULI), now visiting Romania. Information was exchanged on the activity of the supreme legislative forums in Romania and Greece, with stress laid on the parliaments' role in deepening and diversifying the ties of friendship and bilateral collaboration. The contribution was also underscored which the two countries' parliaments and parliamentarians make, in the framework of the Interparliamentary Union, of other international organizations, to the establishment of a climate of peace, security and cooperation in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. The same day, the Hellenic parliamentarians had interviews with Ilie Vaduva, Romanian foreign minister, and Mikhail Micu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. They approached aspects of boosting mutually profitable economic and commercial ties and made an exchange of opinions on the present-day international situation. /Text/ /Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1610 GMT 18 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

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CSO: 2020/182

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

TREND TOWARD SERBIAN SELF-ISOLATION IN KOSOVO NOTED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVIINE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 86 pp 18-20

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Searching for a Lost Time"]

[Text] In everyday life in Kosovo, it is easy to find proof for all theories; one only has to interpret events with enough ill will. Thus, one of the province's high police officials says that he stiffens every time he hears about a murder, but, in contrast to the customary behavior of his colleagues in other regions, he smiles as soon as he finds out that the killer and the victim are of the same nationality. This happened to him again four days ago in the vicinity of Podujevo when half a dozen Becirijas killed two Rileta brothers. After that the only thing left for the militia to do was to pick up the cartridges, three army rifles, and a pistol -- which in the IAPSKI region are a "standard part of household equipment" for every self-respecting farmer.

Five days before, sidearms were nearly used on a large scale in the village of Batusi in the Pristina area--a village also well known to the news media. The local residents (75 Serbian households), who are still waiting for a response to their demand that four Albanian families move out of Batusi, gathered on Friday evening in front of one of the three shops there. Inside, frightened by the growing crowd, the former shopkeeper (a Gypsy), turned over his duties to a new shopkeeper (an Albanian).

"We rebelled," the people in Batusi say, "but we could not attack a person at his job, although we knew that the Albanian had come here to work only so that his people from neighboring villages could wander around Batusi. We immediately convened a conference and decided that no one would go into the shop and buy things, and so we called the firm in Svetozarevo that owned the shop so that the director would know that the entire village was up in arms and that an Albanian could not be a shopkeeper in a purely Serbian village. On Monday, the director himself came, closed up the shop, and took away all the goods."

Priest and "Welfare"

The family of the former shopkeeper (there are 15 Gypsy households here) who on his own initiative gave up his job to an Albanian, according to the villagers, will no longer be able to use pastures on the property of other



owners and on the village meadow, except for the portion that belongs to them. This, as the creators of the idea say, should constitute an educational-corrective measure.

This "elimination of foreign bodies" has almost become the rule. Many people interpret this as the genetic defense mechanism of the traditionally xenophobic Kosovo village. Others defend themselves by arguing that the nationally pure villages have remained immune to family emigration, and that in a situation in which during the second half of 1985 170 families and 1,933 citizens left Kosovo (70 percent more than during the first half of the same year) one should give up on theory and acknowledge the practice, for instance, of Gračanica, the largest Serbian village (950 households), which not a single family has left since 1981. The villages in which there were conflicts, feuds between Albanians and Serbs, quickly became nationally "pure," according to analysts. That process led to the creation of centripetal forces among the Serbs and Montenegrins, who are not only moving out of the province, but also leaving for homogeneous Serbian settlements like Gračanica and Priluzje — which is almost not mentioned at all. This, they say, is also spurred by the practical reason that in villages where the number of Serbs and Montenegrins falls below 3 percent, the question arises of the possibility of exercising constitutional rights — education in one's mother tongue, administration, and even religious freedoms, since Podujevo, for instance, one of the largest cities in Kosovo, is no longer able to support the Orthodox priest, who after two years of receiving "social assistance" from his colleagues in other regions, had to give up his small congregation and move to Pristina.

Possibly it is a coincidence, but it seems that the process of concentration has discreet political support. It could be said that a paragraph in the Further Measures for Halting the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins (the Kosovo Assembly, November 1985) makes it possible to maintain the status quo in ethnically "pure" settlements. Paragraph 5, item 3, literally reads as follows:

"Political and legal measures should be used to prevent any sale and purchase introducing unrest and encouraging the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins."

#### Albanian in a "Nursery School"

An interesting incident has now occurred in the above-mentioned Gračanica. A certain Goranac built a large house there and offered it for sale. The price two years ago was 35 million dinars. The village collected the money, since it intended to open a nursery school in that house. The owner, however, raised the price to 50 million. The village nevertheless found a buyer, but the one who became the owner was an Albanian, who they say paid 80 million. Thus, the family of Fazli Berisa has already been living for 9 months at the center of what was until then the ethnically "pure" Gračanica. The local residents complained en masse, and demanded that he move out, explaining that the right of the option to buy had not been respected and that with this situation in Kosovo, his arrival would bring unrest.

"That is how they drive us out," his neighbor says. "First one comes, then after a year or two more of them, and the Serbs leave for Serbia. Some

Albanians also tried to buy a house here a few years ago, but the previous president of the Pristina opstina nationalized the building and turned it into a library. The current government, however, agreed with this buyer. Nearby there are settlements where Serbs, Albanians, Gypsies, and Montenegrins live together, but only Serbs have always lived in this place. They barely accepted me; I came from Novo Brdo in 1966, and for three years not one neighbor would say hello to me."

The Berisa family (father, mother, five brothers, and four sisters) came from Kosovska Kamenica. The reason was the proximity to Pristina, and the opportunities for employment and education. Two of the brothers are professors, a sister is at the law faculty, the father (a fighter from 1944) is a retired teller, and the youngest brother is in the military school in Belgrade. In response to the question of whether it was simple for them to decide to move into a Serbian village, the Berisas say that in Kamenica Serbs were their next-door neighbors, and that there were never any disputes between them.

"All sorts of things were said -- that we had bought this house overnight, and that we had come with some kind of concealed intentions," the youngest Berisa adds. "I know that some time is needed for the neighbors to become convinced that we do not have any other intentions besides living like people. We have been here for eight months. At first our reception was noticeably cold, but I am already playing basketball and going to dances with the local residents, even though I am the only young Albanian here."

Regardless of how the disputes in Batumi and Gdansk were concluded, it is difficult to believe that a better future for Kosovo can be built on the basis of nationally pure Bantustans, in which Serbs and Montenegrins would be protected as if on a reservation, in equality with themselves. The "preservation of national environments" is therefore probably only a utilitarian measure, a fire-extinguishing system, to calm down the nervous Kosovo area. A certain atmosphere of expectation is evident, however -- waiting to see what kind of direct results the visit by the working groups from the Yugoslav Assembly and the Serbian IC Central Committee will have for the situation there. One can already perceive differences between the working groups and Kosovo institutions in their assessments of certain actions and complaints. The source of the differences should probably be sought in the use of different "measuring systems." But the way that Serbs and Montenegrins received the members of this working group must suggest, even to amateur analysts of the political situation, the existence of an alarming degree of distrust in the state and even political institutions in Kosovo. Authority, in fact, is one of the things that keeps a civilized society civilized; when it exists, authority, like hair, grows by itself, but when it starts to fall out, it is difficult to find a remedy.

#### Equal With Oneself

It is really difficult to explain why five years of dubious speculations about the number of refugees from Albania and their influence on the Kosovo situation were necessary, and only three days ago the Serbian Assembly received an authoritative explanation that since 1948 between 5,000 and 6,000

refugees came to our country, and that criminal proceedings are under way against 10, three have been expelled from school, and six emigres are serving prison sentences.

Two new elements, however, have become part of the Kosovo political milieu. First of all, one hears more and more often the demand that discussions of Albanian nationalism be reduced ("There has already been plenty of talk about it, for five whole years now") and the claim that the time has come for talks about the Serbian version of the same phenomenon. As a subculture of that way of thinking, rumors are appearing that there is no Serbian nationalism in the sense of any organized form, and that discussing it would mean weakening the front against Albanian separatism. Both demands only prove that one's own nationalism is like one's own dirty socks — the smell does not bother the owner, but on the other hand it chokes everyone present.

#### New and Old Lists

In addition to this, people are waiting for the meeting of the provincial committee of the LC, at which the definitive list of candidates will be established, in mid-April, for higher offices in the republic and the federation. The last meeting, in fact, confirmed the existence of an artificially concealed conflict along three fronts: ideological, generational, and in regard to interests. Many Kosovo politicians were not able to accept the fact that they were not on the lists of candidates for the LCY Central Committee. Imer Pulja (who took the floor several times), Hajredin Hodza, Dzevdet Hamza, Ilijaz Kurtesi, and others proposed each other, with a pronounced concern for the "continuity of the revolution." Fadilj Hodza, who formally celebrated his 70th birthday in Djakovica a few days ago, was visibly upset; he emphasized that he was still very strong, and that he was surprised that he was "not among the candidates, but he knew that some organizations had proposed him." Hodza stressed that "Albanian nationalists and Serbian chauvinists" were working against him, although he did not support these claims with arguments. The "newly proposed" candidates naturally included the very well-known Kosovo theoreticians Ismail Bajra, Kurtis Salihu, and Esad Stavileci, who was "ill" for a long time. Azem Vlasi (38), commenting on the new proposals, said that he did not advocate generational sectarianism, but that the members of his generation could not accept the assertion that they were less revolutionary just because they were younger, and that if the continuity of the revolution was embodied in the old cadres, then "our revolution is at an end."

The most (unofficial) polemics were aroused by the commentary by Milislav Milic, Belgrade Radio-Television's correspondent in Pristina, who in the radio broadcast "Sunday at Ten" emphasized that "regional representation was also taken into account in proposing the new leaderships, since for four decades now Kosovo has been governed mostly by cadres from Djakovica. Most of them were born or educated in Albania, and came to Yugoslavia or returned to it during the upheaval of the war. Now efforts are being made to free cadre policy of traditionalism, and to have the people coming in accept the wave of changes that should bring progress. There is an insistence upon capable people who will have a Yugoslav view of the country's future."



[Boxed article by Zejnel Zejneli: "What Serbian Nationalism Is All About"]

Rahman Morina, Secretary of the Provincial SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs]

"Verbal propaganda is being developed more and more, and more intensively, most often within the narrow ranks of like-minded people; comments are made about the existing sociopolitical situation; attacks are made against the policy of the IC, the Albanian population as a whole, the personality of President Tito, and individual leaders; the actions and measures undertaken to overcome the existing situation in Kosovo are downplayed and disparaged," says Morina. "We cannot say that there are no problems in Serbian circles, and that we are sometimes not solving them fast enough. It is obvious, however, that people affected by the troubles are being taken away from us by others, wanting to create unrest, who claim that their problems will never be solved. I therefore advocate the rapid settlement of disputes, since that is the best remedy to keep people from becoming involved in nationalism. It is now happening that people are leaving in an organized manner to complain, carried away by the example of others, who use such departures to express a hostile platform.

"Some Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists are hoping for changes and seeking the abolition of the province, since only then will 'the Serbs be protected.' Regrets for Aleksandar Rankovic are expressed. Otherwise, an obvious example of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism was noted, for instance, in Orahovac, where the organizers of a dance put a warning at the door, 'Only for Couples,' in order to prevent the entrance of young Albanians, who mostly come by themselves. Next, the owner of a cafe in Kosovo Polje publicly challenged the right of Albanians to enter his premises. Individuals threaten that 'Albanians ought to go to Albania because the Serbs are stronger.' Some nationalistic songs are also being sung, and a case was also noted in which a portrait of President Tito was smashed. Slogans, letters, and pamphlets are written, mostly from abroad and anonymously, summoning the Serbian people 'to the struggle for liberation.' There are also indications of attempts to organize illegal activities, and we have even discovered an attempt to form a group of students that had the intention of acting on the basis of Chetnik positions. In Kosovo Polje, where the problems are most evident, people are being urged to go to Belgrade, write petitions, and exaggerate the problems. Individuals from Kosovo have also conducted talks with well-known nationalists outside Kosovo, who gave them instructions on how to work and act.

"All of this indicates that Serbian nationalism has gone beyond revanchism and is slowly assuming the character of organized activity. All of this has an effect on the creation of nervousness and the increased emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, which in turn signifies for the nationalists a confirmation that 'nothing is working' in Kosovo and that the problems have to be solved in some 'other' way," Morina notes.

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16 Sept 86